

IN THESE TIMES

Jazz fest



Page 13

VOL. 6, NO. 26

MAY 26-JUNE 1, 1982

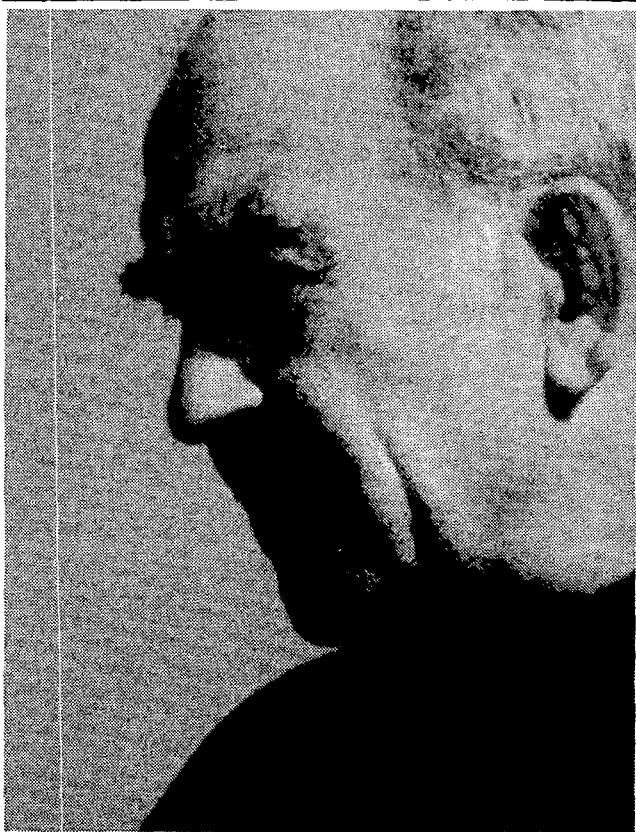
\$1.00

This land
ain't
your
land

Farmers
resist
foreclosures
Page 8

Big oil
dumps
synfuels
Page 3

THE INSIDE STORY



Why Lou Grant got the ax

By Susan Heeger

NEW YORK

"In the entertainment industry, people still worry about blacklisting," Ed Asner told me during an interview in January. "But I've had more success than I'd ever dreamed possible. Even if I lost it, I'd be ahead of the game."

At the time, his losing it seemed improbable. The *Lou Grant* show, which he had starred in for five years, was still bringing in respectable ratings. He had recently been elected president of the Screen Actors Guild (SAG). And his vocal support of liberal political causes—the ERA, gay rights, unionism—had made him the object of increasing journalistic interest. His popularity and public influence seemed limitless—so much so in fact that one question he was asked frequently by reporters concerned not his acting plans but his political aspirations.

But now, a scant four months later, CBS has cancelled *Lou Grant*. Citing falling ratings, the network denies that either Asner's high visibility politics or the mounting threats of advertiser boycotts (prompted by those politics) had anything to do with the cancellation. This in itself is currently a subject of controversy.

A high price to pay.

On Feb. 15, 1982, Ed Asner traveled to Washington with a message for President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig: "[Your] enemies in El Salvador are not our enemies." Presenting a \$25,000 check to Salvadoran rebels (on behalf of the Medical Aid to El Salvador project), he took the stand he is paying for now. Though he had taken strong positions before—supporting PATCO strikers, opposing nuclear proliferation—El Salvador gave Asner's critics a single focal issue around which to organize. Contributing to the rebel cause gave rise to the same accusations of treason and undermining the efforts of the U.S. government that Jane Fonda faced when she went to Hanoi. And as president of SAG he was further vulnerable to charges that he had implicated the Guild by not stressing his role as private citizen, not Guild representative.

In Hollywood, the outcry was swift and impassioned. While anti-Asner members picketed the Guild, petitions circulated for his recall. Threats were made on his life.

In New York, the Congress of Conservative Contri-

butors organized to strike at the perceived heart of Asner's influence—the *Lou Grant* show—by calling for a boycott of its advertisers. Direct mail drives followed, by Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority and Rep. John LeBoutillier (R-N.Y.), among others.

"If you like Jane Fonda, you'll love Ed Asner," went LeBoutillier's pitch. Included in his mailing was a complete list of the show's sponsors and this postcard addressed to CBS chairman William Paley: "I want you to know I pledge to join the nationwide boycott of sponsors of the *Lou Grant* show because Ed Asner is giving aid, comfort and cash to our enemies."

The Congressman's office did not return a call inquiring about the size of the mailing list. A CBS press source acknowledged receiving "a number of" the postcards but added, "We do not consider the numbers public information."

At least one sponsor, Kimberly-Clark, responded to the pressure by discontinuing its *Lou Grant* spots. A CBS producer who requested anonymity speculated that "Kimberly-Clark was probably the tip of the iceberg."

But Barry Richardson, a CBS vice president in charge of press, maintains that "Kimberly-Clark didn't withdraw. They just didn't buy any more time. No advertiser has withdrawn from the show." Nor would withdrawals have prompted the show's cancellation, according to Richardson.

"CBS has a track record of not succumbing to advertising pressure. *Lou Grant* was cancelled strictly on the basis of its ratings."

An unusually clear-cut picture.

Richardson describes an "unusually clear-cut picture" of the show's drop in performance. With most factors remaining constant—the same weekly time slot, the same competition—the show held a 19.6 rating from 1978 to 1980. This past year, "it fell off a cliff," plunging to a season's average of 16.6 or a 27 share.

Richardson's analysis does not take into account the increased impact of cable TV on network ratings. (Les Brown, editor-in-chief of *Channels* magazine, calls a 27 share "almost a passing grade in the new TV economy.") Neither does it explain why CBS didn't play with the show a bit, at least trying it in another time slot before dropping it.

"A first-place network can afford to carry a borderline show," says Brown, "especially a prestigious show like this one." He suggests that Asner's practice of taking strong, public positions on issues—and not the specifics of his politics—was what got him and the show into trouble. "Networks, like advertisers, don't want to make enemies—they want friends."

Allan Burns, one of *Lou Grant*'s creators, agrees. "I have no problem saying that if Ed hadn't been as visible because of El Salvador and SAG, we would've been renewed."

Burns also disputes Richardson's claim that the show's position in the schedule has stayed constant. This season, he points out, *Lou Grant* was not preceded by the strong lead-in shows of previous years. It was frequently pre-empted by special programming. "And we've never had as heavy competition from other networks as we had this year: ABC Movies of the Week, NBC Movies of the Week—they kill you."

CBS failed to consider these factors, Burns believes, because "Ed had started to engender hostility"—both with the public and within the industry—for his identification with "causes not in favor today, such as unionism."

"And when you're dealing with ratings," says Burns, "it doesn't take a lot of people disagreeing with you to show up in the numbers."

The show itself, having weathered five seasons, was just as vulnerable to the country's changing political climate. According to Les Brown, "Nielsen ratings have always been a political barometer, like public opinion polls." He cites the 1968 presidential campaign that made an issue of law and order and gave rise to a slew of top-rated police shows. Hence, a left-leaning, liberal-minded program could be expected to fall from favor during a Republican administration.

James Rosenfield, executive vice president of the CBS Broadcast Group, amplifies Brown's point. "As [*Lou Grant*] got further involved in issues," he recently told the *New York Times*, "it became heavier and heavier—at a time when the audience trend was toward an interest in lighter fare and escapist programming."

There were economic factors, too. "The longer a show is on the air," says Les Brown, "the more expensive it becomes," particularly in terms of actors' salaries. Its audience gets older as well and becomes less valuable to advertisers. Currently, one of the largest groups of *Lou Grant* viewers is women over age 55, while most TV advertising is targeted at 18-to-49-year-olds.

So what lies ahead for *Lou Grant*? There is a rumor out that NBC plans to pick it up—which NBC denies. It might be sold for syndication, but Anthony Hoffman, entertainment analyst for A.G. Becker, calls this "chancy." The show is an hour, while the prime syndication slot is the half hour between 7:30 and 8 p.m. In Hoffman's view, "the syndication market is in disarray—softer than anyone had anticipated." So perhaps *Lou Grant* will simply fade away.

Asner, it seems, will not. His response in a *New York Times* article about network cancellations was charged with typical gusto. "I find it shallow that the network wouldn't have exerted itself on behalf of the show, especially so that the yahoos of the world couldn't claim another victory in their attempt to abridge free speech."

Which is precisely the sinister overtone of *Lou Grant*'s cancellation. On a recent Denver TV news program, the director of Asner's latest feature, *O'Hara's Wife*, spoke of problems in finding a distributor for the film.

There is little reason to believe that Asner will find himself the future victim of a '50s-type blacklist. But he may be falling prey to a distinctly contemporary strain of public disapproval. In this age of unprecedented celebrity power, a proliferation of talk shows and entertainment/magazine programs are providing more opportunities than ever for stars to air their views on TV. But while public interest in celebrities is high, people watch Barbara Walters and *Entertainment Tonight* in the spirit of reading fan magazines. They want intimate moments with their heroes, not discussions of current issues. Asner, by continuing to insist on using his celebrity to publicize causes he believes in, may be wearing out his welcome with a public hungry for gossip.

In the wake of the *Lou Grant* cancellation, Allan Burns told me that no one on the show blamed Asner for what had happened.

"Not one person said if only Ed had shut up, we'd be on the air. We wouldn't have had him do any differently. After all, no one wants to think you've gotta shut up to survive."

Susan Heeger's article "Ed Asner: Starring Lou Grant," is featured in the April/May issue of *Channels* magazine.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

PUBLISHERS

William Sennett

James Weinstein

EDITORIAL

Editor

James Weinstein

Associate Editors

John Judis,
David Moberg

Managing Editor

Sheryl Larson

Culture Editor

Pat Aufderheide

European Editor

Diana Johnstone

Assistant Managing Editor

Josh Kornbluth

Staff: John Echeverri-Gent, Emily Young,
Editorial Assistants.

Sponsors: Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jesse Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weinstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright ©1982 by Institute for Policy Studies Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* or single-article reprints are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions are \$23.50 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$35.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by *In These Times* become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Ill.

CORRESPONDENTS

Kate Ellis (New York), David Fleishman (Tokyo), Robert Howard (Boston), Timothy Lange (Denver), David Mandel (Jerusalem), James North (Southern Africa).

West Coast Bureau: Thomas Brom, 1419 Broadway #702, Oakland, CA 94612, (415) 834-3015 or 531-5573.

ART

Co-Directors

Ann Tyler, Dolores Wilber

Assistant Art Directors

Paul Comstock, Nicole Ferentz

Composition

Jim Rinnert, Diane Scott

BUSINESS

Associate Publisher

Bob Nicklas

Business Manager

Elizabeth Goldstein

Circulation Director Advertising Director

Pat VanderMeer Bill Rehm

Outreach Coordinator

Angie Fa

Staff: Arlene Folsom, Anne Flanagan, Assistant Circulation Directors: Beth Maschinot, Circulation Assistant: Anne Ireland, Bookkeeper: Debbie Zucker, Office Manager: Grace Faustino, Caging Manager: Paul Ginger, Classified Advertising.

William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, Assistant Circulation Directors: Beth Maschinot, Circulation Assistant: Anne Ireland, Bookkeeper: Debbie Zucker, Office Manager: Grace Faustino, Caging Manager: Paul Ginger, Classified Advertising.

Strikers put the brakes on concessions

By Eric Lelf Davin
and Joseph White

WILMERDING, PA

ACROSS THE STREET FROM United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 610 in Wilmerding, near Pittsburgh, is the Westinghouse Air Brake Co., on the corner of Station and Westinghouse Avenues. Right behind the local is the Westinghouse Memorial High School. Now American Standard, the New York owner of Westinghouse Air Brake—or WABCO, as it is known—is attempting to turn Wilmerding back into the company town George Westinghouse meant it to be when he built it 100 years ago.

On Oct. 31, the contract between WABCO and its workers expired. The next day, the 3,700 employees represented by UE Local 610 went on strike. At issue was the new three-year contract offered by WABCO. The company, like many others across the nation, was asking for concessions so it could remain competitive amid an economic downturn.

But unlike many giant unions such as the Teamsters and the United Auto Workers, Local 610 said no. "This union has put itself on the soup line when all along [the company has] been eating caviar," said local president Mike Carbo. "This company is making a profit and is just jumping on the concession bandwagon. We had to say no."

Going into its seventh month, the strike is both the longest and the largest current strike in the country. And WABCO, a major producer of railway signaling equipment and air brakes, is feeling its effects nationwide. The strike has already slowed construction of the Washington, D.C., subway system and caused delays in repairs to subways in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston.

For the United Electrical Workers union, with its history of militancy, the action is crucial. "This strike is about take-aways," said Tim Rossetti, a union steward and member of the negotiating committee. "They have 10 big items they're demanding back from the union—things we've won over the last 40 years. That was their position from the start, and they haven't moved from that."

A central issue is the company's plan to change the incentive pay system for piecework. More than half the employees are paid on a piecework basis. The company has said that it wants to cut down on the time allotted to specific jobs. So to earn the same incentive pay that they received under the old contract, workers would have to increase their output. If output didn't pick up, they would take a cut in pay.

The union believes it has gone along with American Standard as much as possible. "We have an outstanding record for cooperation with this company," said Rossetti. "We went along with their new rubber plant. They put a new line in the foundry that eliminated 30-some jobs, but we went along with it. Now we agreed to let them re-time the jobs as long as none of our people would take wage cuts. In other words, we will give them more productivity for the same amount of money."

Al Hart, a member of the executive board of his own UE local in Erie, Pa., who now works as a strike coordinator in Wilmerding, said that "in negotiations, WABCO has given us computer printouts on what they intend to do to the piecework earnings of people in particular departments. From that we see that 75 percent of our people will suffer wage cuts."

In addition, the new three-year contract proposed by WABCO includes no wage increases. Workers say this is a difficult clause to swallow since their present cost of living allowance doesn't keep pace

with inflation. "Every time the actual cost of living goes up a dollar, we receive 63 cents," Hart explained.

"They also want to gut the seniority system," he continued. "What it comes down to is the boss picks and chooses who gets the job, and there's too much room for favoritism there."

In addition, the company wants to install a new system of computer reporting of all production levels. Workers would be expected to punch in and out of a particular job. If time were taken off for any reason, it would be entered on the monitor.

According to Rossetti, the union does not oppose the data recording plan in principle. "The company states in their leaflets and letters to our wives that they want to use it strictly for inventory control. That's OK. But what they say across the negotiating table is something else. They want to use it for discipline and there's no way we can go for that."

Going into its seventh month, the strike is the longest in the area's history.

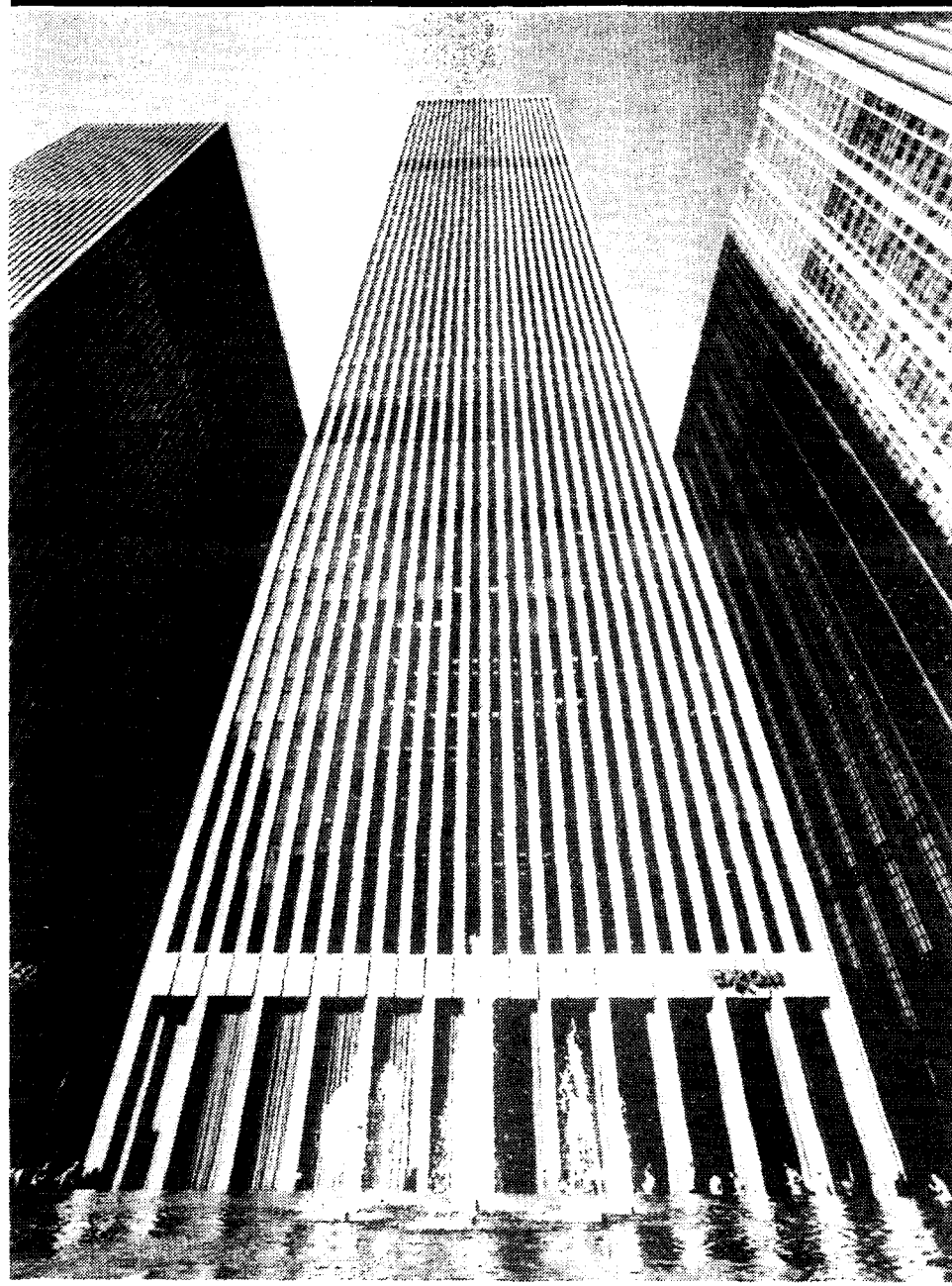
From the start, the company has said the strike centers on productivity. Business is bad and it's getting worse, according to American Standard, so concessions from the workers are needed to keep pace with competitors.

The workers disagree. They claim American Standard, which in addition to sig-

naling systems and air brakes makes plumbing fixtures and mining equipment, is doing well against its chief competitor, Connecticut-based General Signal Corporation. *U.S. News & World Report* agrees with the workers on this point. In the March 1 issue, it wrote, "Few industries with contracts pending have the deep woes that led labor to give wage concessions to the auto, trucking and airline industries." They then predicted "confrontation as usual" between the United Electrical Workers and General Electric and Westinghouse when the major contracts expire in June and July.

WABCO, then, may be a precursor to bigger things ahead. "This is one of the major plants UE represents," Hart said. "GE and Westinghouse negotiations are coming up next summer, and what happens at WABCO has traditionally set a sort of pattern for those talks, as well as for smaller plants."

Continued on page 6



Exxon decided that synfuels promised to be just a drop in the bucket.

Exxon retreats from the synfuels industry

By Douglas Vaughan

PARACHUTE, CO

WHEN THE WORLD'S LARGEST industrial corporation starts talking, people don't just listen; they stand at attention. Politicians have been known to salute.

Earlier this month, mighty Exxon sounded retreat from the synthetic fuel industry, turning what had been an orderly withdrawal into a pell mell rout. A half-hour's drive from Parachute, Exxon had launched the Colony project using a process developed by Tosco Corp. Exxon hoped to extract 47,000 barrels a

day of oil-like kerogen by 1985. Nearby, Union Oil of California had begun construction of a 9,000-barrel-per-day module as the first phase of a project that would yield 36,000 barrels per day by 1987 and up to 150,000 barrels per day at full capacity by 1995.

Within a radius of 100 miles of Parachute, more than a dozen oil and mining firms hoped to squeeze shale oil from the stubborn rock. Now they are all gone, except for Union.

Only two years before, Exxon chairman Clifford Garvin had declared that the U.S. must build 150 oil shale plants the size of the Colony project at a cost of \$500 billion or more—the biggest industrial complex in history—to produce 8

million barrels per day of shale oil by 2010, plus another 7 million barrels of synthetic fuels from equally expensive coal liquification and gasification in order to achieve the illusive goal of energy independence.

As if to put its sizeable cash flow where its corporate mouth was, Exxon plunked down \$300 million for a 60 percent interest in Colony from Arco in May 1980. From then on, Exxon seemed to generate its own momentum. In June 1980, the *Oil and Gas Journal* declared a milestone had been passed: Oil shale was finally competitive in economic terms. Only "institutional barriers" such as environmental regulations and vestigial price controls on domestic oil and natural gas prevented development of commercial-scale industry, the *Journal* said.

But those barriers soon fell. After a year of debate, Congress passed the energy Security Act authorizing up to \$88 billion in synthetic fuels price supports, loan guarantees and purchase agreements that would be administered by a quasi-public Synthetic Fuels Corporation (SFC). The Defense Production Act allocated another \$5 billion as part of an interim program to stimulate synfuels for military use until the SFC was operating.

What drove the blind rush into synfuels? In the '70s the combination of the quadrupling of oil prices, untethered demand and the uncertainty of the Mideast supply pushed the market closer toward synthetics. This was reflected in the flurry of activity on Colorado's western slope.

But synfuel projects must compete for investment dollars with other oil projects, both domestic and foreign, and the non-petroleum ventures of the diversified energy companies. Also, since 1979 those same high prices that made synfuels so attractive have induced conservation, greater efficiency and fuel switching. Recently, world oil prices have dropped in both real and nominal terms, while high interest rates have raised the cost of holding onto oil. Thus, the world seems awash in oil, even though OPEC has cut production in half since 1979.

With the world in the grip of the worst economic crisis since the Depression and the price of crude holding at around \$30 per barrel, there is little incentive to invest billions in risky synfuels projects. Herman T. Fronassen, chief economist of the Paris-based International Energy Agency, says that many of his colleagues would "crawl under the table with embarrassment if confronted with the predictions of oil price increases they made a few years ago. The best OPEC can hope for," Fronassen added, "is a gradual erosion of prices, perhaps into the mid-'80s."

But depressed oil prices are not the only obstacle to synfuels. Because of high inflation rates, the real cost of borrowed money was negative or close to zero most

Continued on page 5

INSHORT

Dems doze

Over the Memorial Day weekend, more than 200 delegates from 30-plus states will converge in New York City for the Citizens Party's national midterm convention. And sure to be a topic of discussion at the gathering are recent developments in Indiana, where two peripatetic party members tested Democratic Party waters—and stayed afloat.

At first, report Jackson Kopylcheck and Jim Simmons, the Citizens Party of Indiana tried to field a five-candidate slate for the November congressional elections. But the state's restrictive ballot-access requirements—which the party is challenging in court—enabled only two of them to qualify. Two of the unsuccessful candidates then decided to enter the Democratic primaries, which were held on May 4. In Indiana's 6th congressional district, Walt Pearson captured 30 percent of the vote and finished a strong third, just 2,000 ballots shy of winning the nomination. In the 7th congressional district, Steve Bonney did win the Democratic nomination (albeit by a slim margin of 23 votes out of more than 45,000 cast), garnering 39 percent of the vote.

Facing indifference—and sometimes hostility—from mainstream Democrats, Bonney and Pearson ran on a straightforward Citizens Party platform. In heavily rural districts, they spoke at length on the problems of farmers and stressed the party's pro-environmental, antinuclear programs. Both campaigns were low on frills: The victorious Bonney spent less than \$1,000 and logged 7,000 miles driving through his district; 70-year-old Pearson walked 500 miles while spending \$200. With the meager resources at his command, Bonney is given little chance of winning the general election in his predominantly Republican district. Then again, his prospects for the May 4 primary had seemed equally bleak.

Smoking and the bandits

Health warnings in cigarette ads could soon disappear, reports the *Washington Post* (via PNS Radio), if Congress approves a measure barring the government from regulating fairness in advertising. The bill, introduced by freedom-loving Wisconsin senator Bob Kasten (see Kehoe's piece on this page), wouldn't specifically eliminate the health warnings. But the measure would limit the Federal Trade Commission's authority, and that, says one FTC commissioner, "will make it extremely difficult" to continue cigarette ad regulations. The measure would also permanently nix government attempts to ban ads aimed strictly at children, and would prohibit the government from cracking down on commercials that encourage the unsafe use of certain products. The bill, currently before the Senate Commerce Committee, has the strong support of the advertising and tobacco industries.

The plot sickens

When we last left *Megaforce* ("In Short," May 12), the set of the soon-to-be-released feature film was aglow with the blasts from assorted mega-weaponry—some of which was lent out by a titillated Defense Department. Now, thanks to the publication of a tabloid called *Megaforce News*, more can be told. It's the sort of scene the whole family can enjoy: "The hero, Commander Ace Hunter, and the men of Megaforce are idealists, romantics in the truest sense of the word. But they are men of action, united by their motto, 'Deeds not words.' Members of the most powerful rapid deployment force ever created, they're the cream of the military elite in the Free World.... Their mission—to move into action wherever freedom is threatened and the cause is just."

Published by Golden Harvest Group (the film's distributor) and Twentieth Century-Fox, *Megaforce News* gives just cause for giddy anticipation—especially to those moviegoers who couldn't pick out the good guys in *Star Wars*. "The men of Megaforce are outfitted in sleek, skin-tight uniforms, with shoulder patches denoting the Free World country from which they come. The enemy is in drab, ill-fitted khaki uniforms [preppy pirates?!]. Hero Barry Bostwick is a blond, idealistic, nonsmoking Megaforce commander. Villain Henry Silva is a dark-haired, roguish, cigar-smoking Castro look-alike."

So, Bostwick, how did the filming go? "Visualize 30 Mega-Fighters and 10 Mega-Destroyers, all side by side, making the charge and assault, running at speeds up to 60 miles per hour. Then—simultaneously—we all fire our rockets and guns. That's 210 rockets being launched at one time, each blasting off at 1,500 miles per hour!" And wait till you see the exploding rattlesnakes.

Nice idea, though

According to the *New York Times*, Virginia Clark Clarkson of Glen Head, N.Y., recently offered James Watt of Washington, D.C., a two-week scholarship to the National Audubon Society's summer camp. Clarkson said she was willing to spring the necessary \$575 because she thought the interior secretary might enjoy the experience "and come to understand the point of view of natural historians." She got no reply.

—Josh Kornbluth



Eleven years after their first effort, members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War finally are allowed into Arlington Cemetery.

In D.C., 200 veterans relive the war at House

WASHINGTON—It's been 11 years since Jim Wachtendonk came back from Vietnam, but in a way he's still at war. Jim was an Army dog handler in 1970-71. Jim and his dogs walked communication lines and the perimeters of fire support bases, areas regularly sprayed with the defoliant known as Agent Orange. Now Jim battles with health problems, numbness in his hands, headaches, fevers and rashes. His two children were born with congenital birth defects—a predicament he shares with more than 15 percent of his fellow Vietnam veterans in Wisconsin, according to a survey conducted by the state's Department of Health and Social Services.

In mid-May, Jim Wachtendonk camped out on the Mall in Washington, D.C., along with 200 other Vietnam veterans and their families from 23 states and 40 cities. The action was organized by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) in coalition with a dozen other veterans' groups.

The VVAW dubbed the four days of workshops, lobbying and marches Operation Dewey Canyon IV. Eleven years ago many of the same veterans were in Washington, calling for an end to the Vietnam War, in Operation Dewey Canyon III—a name they borrowed from U.S. military excursions into Laos. In Dewey Canyon III, the vets threw their medals on the steps of the Capitol, then marched to Arlington National Cemetery to honor friends who had lost their lives overseas—but the Department of the Army closed the cemetery's gates to them. Eleven years later, for Dewey Canyon IV, the Army grudgingly let the VVAW past the gates of Arlington Cemetery to lay a wreath.

Though such symbolic victories are now being won, said Shep Gurwitz, a veteran from Boston, "Congress is opening up the wounds we've been trying to heal." While he and the other veterans camped out at the foot of Capitol Hill, the Senate Budget Committee passed on to the floor of the Senate a budget that would freeze the Veterans Administration's allocation at a level \$500 million below the VA's estimated needs for 1982. Sympathetic politicians will likely restore a good portion of the VA's budget, but there still won't be sufficient funds to help Vietnam veterans alleviate the common burdens of unemployment, disability, incarceration and a wide range of medical disorders.

To try and change things, the vets grouped on the steps of the Capitol in jungle camouflage and green fatigues and trooped from one lawmaker's office to the next. Some officeholders were surprised by the veterans' adamant coupling of issues—"decent benefits for all vets" and "no more Vietnams." After a meeting with veterans from Wisconsin, an aide to Sen. Bob Kasten (R-Wis.) observed that "traditional veterans' groups are usually more supportive of the senator's defense priorities."

"The military trained us to be disciplined, to work together and to look out for each other, to struggle against odds," explained John Lindquist, a national officer of the VVAW. "Now we're getting a chance to use that training, fighting for freedom and justice. Only now it's at home. And it's not just vets we're fighting for: Vets won't be guaranteed jobs or the health care we need until everyone is."

—Daniel Miles Kehoe

Looking for an unclean break

WASHINGTON—Despite Harris polls documenting that more than 80 percent of Americans want a strong Clean Air Act, conservative Republicans and pro-industry Democrats are trying to steamroll crippling amendments to the legislation through the House of Representatives.

If public memory proves short, the bipartisan coalition may succeed. Congress passed the Clean Air Act 12 years ago in response to serious pollution problems across the country. The law spurred the invention and use of pollution-control devices, including catalytic converters for cars and scrubbers for power plants. As a result, emissions of many widespread and harmful pollutants dropped dramatically. The National Commission on Air Quality estimates that over the past decade the Act has preserved 1,400 lives annually and saved billions of dollars by reducing damage to soil, crops and other materials.

Yet many of the programs established by the Clean Air Act are just getting started. The standards to protect clean areas under the Prevention of Significant Deterioration program have only begun to be defined after years of court battles. Noncompliance fines, which finally took effect this year, are designed to erase a violator's advantage over a law-abiding competitor.

Now a bipartisan bill—HR 5555, introduced by Rep. Thomas Luken (D-Ohio) and supported by 12 members of the House health and environment subcommittee—would double the allowable emissions for cars. It would push back deadlines for meeting clean air standards from 1982 to as late as 1993, and eliminate car inspection and maintenance programs for cities with populations greater than 50,000. The bill would also relax standards for pollution near national parks and wilderness areas. Rep. Luken defends HR 5555 on non-environmental grounds, saying, "Our bill would contribute to reviving the nation's industrial power and protect existing jobs."

Rep. Henry Waxman (D-Calif.) has introduced another bill, supported by consumer, environmental and health groups. Waxman's measure would retain current clean air standards and include controls for acid rain and airborne toxic particles, which haven't yet been regulated by the Environmental Protection Agency.

Waxman's bill has been squelched in subcommittee while Luken's awaits final action by the full House Energy and Commerce Committee. If the Luken bill passes, Waxman says, "millions of people around the country will be breathing dirtier air."

—Jane Stone

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

DEMOCRATS

The battle for the party's soul

By John Judis

NEWARK, N.J.

AS THE REPUBLICANS HAVE gained some ground in the South and Southwest since 1964, the Democrats have strengthened their hold over the once Republican Northeast. In 1982 and 1984, the main political question in the Northeast will not be whether Democrats or Republicans will control the major offices, but *which Democrats*—neoliberals like New York's Ed Koch and Massachusetts' Ed King or left-liberals like Connecticut's Toby Moffett and New York's Ted Weiss. The Northeast may see the rise of a new Democratic politics that emphasizes economic planning rather than the free market and a reduction rather than increase in America's military presence in the world.

In Newark on May 15, about 250 Democratic politicians, trade union officials and community organizers gathered to discuss the party's future. The consensus, which extended from Ed Vargas, the president of the Hartford Central Labor Council, to Andrew Maguire, the Democratic Senate candidate in New Jersey, was that Democrats could not simply wait for President Reagan to self-destruct, but would have to fashion programmatic alternatives to counter him.

"An issue-oriented platform must be developed," Vargas told the meeting. "The only way to advance is by opening up a process of economic democracy where the public is involved in economic planning that is now private."

The meeting was called by the Democratic Agenda, a group organized in 1976 by Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee to develop a left platform for presidential candidates. The Newark meeting was

many as 15 races. It has also developed a program on such issues as hazardous waste disposal, plant closings, energy conservation and women's rights with which to judge potential candidates. "Our goal is to define a progressive agenda and to run our own candidates," Caplan told *In These Times*.

New Jersey's PIPAC was begun in 1981, largely through the efforts of John Atlas, the head of the New Jersey Tenant Organization's Political Action Committee (*In These Times*, May 13, 1981). Like LEAP, PIPAC brought together labor unions, public interest organizations,

human face." "They are going to cry when they screw the poor rather than being happy," Chapin quipped.

Michael Harrington, the chair of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), the main organization behind the Democratic Agenda, concluded the meeting with a rousing oration that brought tears to the eyes of a Connecticut Democrat, who had long been absent from left circles and had never heard Harrington speak.

Harrington, like the other speakers, came down to the same point: The left in 1982 and 1984 must have an alternative.

Karen Burstein, executive director of the New York Consumer Protection Board, speaks at the plenary session of the Democratic Agenda.



In the Northeast, the question is not whether the Democrats will be in control—it's *which* of the Democrats.

one of two recent regional conferences called to begin formulating a left alternative to the Reagan administration's policies.

The attendance at the Newark meeting disappointed its organizers, who blamed it on rival ACLU and NOW conferences in New Jersey and on the temptations of the first summer-like weekend. But the participants were an interesting cross section of the Northeast's Democratic left, including representatives from both Connecticut's Legislative Electoral Assistance Project (LEAP) and New Jersey's Public Interest Political Action Committee (PIPAC). These recently formed groups provide the model for left Democrats in the Northeast.

LEAP was begun in July 1980 by former Connecticut Citizen Action Group (CCAG) director Marc Caplan to provide technical assistance to candidates for state office. Six unions, CCAG, ACORN and several environmental, feminist and Democratic Party political action committees provided the initial funding, which secured them representation on LEAP's board of directors. In 1980, LEAP provided technical assistance to four state senate candidates, including training and phonebanks. All four won in heavily contested races.

In 1982, LEAP plans to target as

feminist, environmental and minority organizations that gained representation on its board of directors by pledging an annual donation.

In the 1981 state races, PIPAC decided to provide campaign consultants, phone banks and field workers for four Democratic state senate candidates. One of PIPAC's candidates scored a surprising victory, but the others lost.

While Atlas views one of the losses as a success—the candidate did surprisingly well in a Republican district—he has misgivings about the way PIPAC chose its candidates in 1981. Instead of the member organizations debating among themselves who should be supported, PIPAC simply determined that only four of 40 state senate candidates in swing districts were being supported by all the organizations in the coalition, and therefore decided to support them, even though three of them were in Republican-leaning districts.

In 1983, PIPAC hopes to run its own candidate in an Essex County legislative race. It is also considering some future role in congressional contests.

Reaganism with a human face.

Many of the speakers at the Newark conference took aim at what they termed Democratic Party chairman Charles Manatt's "lockout of left Democrats" at the party midterm convention in Philadelphia next month. The new party rules will prevent any plenary debate and decision on party stands and will limit participation in the conference to party appointees and officials.

Jim Chapin, chairman of World Hunger Year, claimed that Manatt resorted to a lockout because he feared that the left would finally be able to take over the party. Chapin termed the Manatt and neoliberal alternative "Reaganism with a

"We have to have a program. Ronald Reagan is not going to elect us," Harrington said. "When the presidential candidates come to talk to us, let's not let them say, 'I love you, I won't lie to you.' Let's say, 'here is our program, and where do you stand on it?'"

But among the organizers of Democratic Agenda, there was considerable

time and money spent organizing it.

But while there is some question about Democratic Agenda's future role, there is no doubt that the groups and individuals assembled in Newark from DSA to LEAP to the Long Island Progressive Coalition, will play an important part in the battle for the Democratic Party's soul in the Northeast.

Exxon

Continued from page 3

of 1973 to 1980. But since the passage of the Energy Security Act, the real cost of capital has jumped to 5 percent. As Michael S. Koleda, president of the National Council on Synthetic Fuel Production, put it recently, "Synfuels projects, already farther back in the investment queue following revised (lower) oil price projections, now find the entire queue delayed."

At the same time, Koleda points out, the political timetable for synfuels has slowed. Rather than divert money from the military buildup to synfuels, the Reagan administration has accelerated oil purchases for the strategic petroleum reserve. Meanwhile, the SFC has been treated like an unwanted child left on the White House doorstep.

There has even been talk of abolishing the SFC. That idea is based on the theory that the public should not put out money for projects that would fly on their own. But now project sponsors will enter the current market only if it is skewed in their favor by the government.

The costs of the Colony project were too much even for Exxon. Early this year, Tosco acknowledged it's estimate of the Colony project cost had jumped to \$3.7

billion. Exxon estimated the cost at nearly \$5 billion. By April 30, the figure had risen to \$6 billion. Having spent over \$500 million, with no end in sight, Exxon pulled the plug on the Colony project.

That leaves Union Oil as the only active developer in the field. In an interview, Union president Fred Hartley said he wasn't surprised at Exxon's decision. But he resents the implications: "The notion that oil shale is dead because God has abandoned it—God being Exxon—is just ridiculous." Hartley noted that Union's project is less than half as expensive as Exxon's in terms of capital investment per barrel of capacity and, he claimed, it is technologically more reliable.

What would it take to bring Exxon and the others back to Parachute? Exxon won't say. But another major round of OPEC price hikes would help. Many smaller companies want oil shale badly but will proceed only if they get subsidies. Several others are experimenting with exotic techniques such as ultrasonics and steam injection to free the kerogen from the shale in the hope that a technical breakthrough will shift the equation in their favor. Until that is found, however, the most obvious and ominous solution to the synfuels riddle still lies in the Middle East.

But at any moment, war or revolution could jolt the sleeping corpse of oil shale back to life and send it crashing across the Western landscape once again.

©Pacific News Service

Strike

Continued from page 3

"But we think it has a wider impact even outside of the UE," he continued. "We've been getting a lot of support in the Pittsburgh area from other unions. The steelworkers, mineworkers, IUE and the UAW all feel that we're in it for them."

The standoff at WABCO, UE says, represents a new trend: Businesses no longer merely want to defeat unions; they want to destroy them.

"We are negotiating the specific issues that concern us at WABCO," says Kent Buckholtz, assistant chief steward at WABCO and a member of the negotiating committee. "However, it's common knowledge that we're the point man. Somewhere along the line, the people at American Standard decided to change their strategy in dealing with this union. They no longer want to reach a settlement by mutual consent. They want to shove their position down our throats. They no longer believe in negotiations as a viable way of dealing with labor."

The company's hard-nosed negotiating stance threatens to undermine the collective bargaining process and parallels the tactics developed by GE's chief of industrial relations, Lemuel Boulware, in the '50s and '60s.

According to Hart, this is American Standard's strategy:

"The company lays out an offer at the start. It's also their last offer. They refuse to negotiate and they use propaganda to sell it. They send letters out every week to our wives and members designed to divide our families. They are meant to turn the wives and other family members against the strikers by saying the company isn't moving, and the union is prolonging the strike needlessly. They end every letter by saying, 'Contact your union negotiating committee and tell them you want to go back to work.'"

"They even had one letter that claimed

they were offering a higher incentive system that would mean more money for the workers but the union was rejecting it. Most of these letters are in the same handwriting. The members have also all received maybe a dozen anonymous phone calls saying the same thing."

But at WABCO, the strategy has failed so far. Morale on the picket line remains high, and the union hall is filled with strikers. The UE is feeding striker families with weekly food shipments and is helping them obtain fuel allotments.

In addition to the union food store that distributes approximately \$20 worth of

food to each member weekly, the union has also helped its members collect food stamps. Pickets are paid gas fare and other expenses and the union relief committee has negotiated with lending institutions to work out individual financial problems.

Although the membership is hurting, Local 610 president Mike Carbo reports that no mortgages have been foreclosed.

According to union members, there is widespread appreciation in the ranks of just how high the stakes are. Everyone knows that givebacks and defeat are not inevitable because in Stony Creek, On-

tario, UE workers held out against American Standard for nine months and won. So people are sticking together.

This solidarity was reinforced at a mass meeting on May 9 when a tentative settlement was voted down by the membership by about 20 to 1, according to Carbo. The company has broken off negotiations permanently in retaliation for the vote and shows no signs of returning to the bargaining table soon.

Eric Leif Davin reports regularly on labor issues for National Public Radio. Joseph White teaches labor history at the University of Pittsburgh.

The union and WABCO slug it out in court

American Standard has been fighting the union in the courts as well as on the picket line and at the negotiating table.

Mass picketing by striking UE workers last November successfully kept supervisory personnel out of the plants and resulted in a number of arrests. As soon as picket lines are set up judges in the Pittsburgh area invariably issue injunctions limiting the number of pickets to one or two per factory gate—whether or not violence occurs. But in WABCO's case, Judge Nicholas Papadakos of the Allegheny County Court of Common Pleas took the unusual step of issuing two consent decrees. The first one limited the number of pickets. And the second, based on his interpretation of a 1934 Pennsylvania law on strikes and lockouts, barred American Standard from using non-union employees to perform the jobs normally done by the striking workers.

The corporation filed an appeal immediately. On Dec. 5, the Superior Court of Pennsylvania issued a temporary ruling allowing supervisory personnel to continue working in the plants

until the case could be heard by a Superior Court panel. On Jan. 19, the panel overturned Papadakos' consent decree, declaring that American Standard could use both supervisory and non-supervisory personnel for production work on the grounds that an employer's right to produce goods during a strike is protected by federal law.

Then on Jan. 22, Papadakos learned that the corporation—possibly anticipating a favorable ruling on its appeal—had violated the consent decree by using non-supervisory personnel on the production lines during the time between the two Superior Court rulings. As a penalty, he ordered American Standard to halt production at its

Wilmerding air brake plant for 11 days and to refrain from selling nine days' worth of production from its sister Union Switch and Signal plant in nearby Swissvale, Pa.

Once more, the corporation's attorneys appealed and on Jan. 28 they won a postponement. In a two-page unsigned order, the Superior Court referred darkly to "circumvention and interference by the lower court," or Judge Papadakos. For his part, Papadakos filed a 12-page opinion, explaining that he had sought "to defuse a volatile labor dispute and maintain the peace and security of the community...[and] for the purpose of vindicating the dignity and preserving the power of the court in the interest of the general public."

The judges on the Superior Court evidently did not find Papadakos' line of argument compelling because on Feb. 11 they overturned the penalties he has imposed on the corporation.

—E.L.D. and J.W.

In These Times

Special Summer Gift Sale!

Give one six month gift subscription and give another one free!

Take advantage of our SPECIAL SUMMER GIFT OFFER—Give one six month gift subscription for \$13 and give another six month gift for FREE! Just fill out the coupon below and we'll do all the rest—even send the gift cards!

In These Times
1509 N. Milwaukee
Chicago, IL 60622

☐ Bill me later.
☐ Payment enclosed.

My name _____
Address _____
City/State _____ Zip _____

Send my first \$13 six month gift to:

Name _____
Address _____
City/State _____ Zip _____

Send my FREE six month gift to:

Name _____
Address _____
City/State _____ Zip _____

Sign gift cards _____

For faster service use our toll-free number: 800-247-2160
Iowa residents call: 1-800-362-2860

NEW

offer from the oldest and largest truly international book club.

"A Better Way to Buy Books"

The Academic Book Club has expanded the idea of a traditional book club into a completely new and unique concept.

SAVE 20-40% ON ANY BOOK IN PRINT!

Save up to 80%

on selected titles.

- NO GIMMICKS
- NO HIDDEN CHARGES
- AND NO HARD SELL

Just low, low prices every day of the year; unlimited choice of books; and fast, efficient, personal service on every order.

ACADEMIC BOOK CLUB

U.S.A.: Cape Vincent, New York
13618-0399
Canada: 105 Wellington St.,
Kingston, Ontario K7L 5C7
Europe: Postbus 1891, 1005 AP
Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Asia: 78, First Cross Street,
Colombo II, Sri Lanka
Africa: P.O. Box 159, Ilorin, Ogun State,
Nigeria

Dear ABC,

Please tell me, without any obligation on my part, how I can order for myself and for my friends anywhere in the world any book in print, from any publisher, from any country, in almost any language.

Tell me in addition how I can save 20-40% on these books joining the ACADEMIC BOOK CLUB and paying a membership fee as low as 1.8¢ daily (\$6.50 annually).

I understand that one of the features of the club is that I am not now, nor will I ever be, under any obligation whatsoever to buy any particular book or quantity of books from Academic Book Club.

Enclosed is \$5.00 for a 15% discount mail order certificate.

PLEASE PRINT:

Circle appropriate abbreviation(s): Dr. Prof. Mr. Mrs. Miss Ms.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ P. Code _____

Note _____ Date _____
(PE 1274-ITT 5/82)



the minnesota review
a journal of committed writing

Spring 1982

Carolyn Richards, "Wintering in Southern Chile"

Fredric Jameson, "On Aronson's Sartre"

Maxine Molyneux and Julia Casterton, "Looking Again at Anais Nin"

William Appleman Williams, "Reading By Candlelight: E.P. Thompson's Recent Work"

plus other fiction, poetry, criticism, and reviews

Editors: Fred Pfeil, Laura Rice-Sayre, Michael Sprinker
Contributing Editors: Germaine Brée, Paul Buhle, Fredric Jameson, Edward Said



Subscriptions:

\$6.00 /year (two issues),
\$9.00 institutional & overseas
\$11.00/2 years (four issues)
\$15.00 institutional & overseas
Single Copies: \$3.00

the minnesota review

Department of English, Drawer A
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon, 97331





On May 3 at 4 p.m., the police attacked with water hoses, tear gas and clubs. Obviously stung by the constant crowd taunt of "Gestapo," the police appeared to relish the opportunity to use force.

Poles take it to the streets

By David Ost

WARSAW, MAY 8

THIS YEAR THERE WERE TWO May Day parades in Poland. One of them was organized long in advance—37 years to be exact. The participants, supplied with red flags in abundance, gathered in designated places and listened to last-minute exhortations by the droning, laconic voice of General Jaruzelski that was piped in by loudspeaker. They were reminded once again of inspiring watchwords such as "Long Live the Party!" and "Friendship with the USSR!" Then, at the signal of the authorities, they proceeded to march in a disciplined, emotionless procession under the banner of the Communist junta.

The other May Day rally began in church. The special May 1 masses held at two churches in Warsaw's Old Town were called to commemorate the victims of past worker struggles and to allow Poles to reflect on the meaning of work. Tens of thousands of people of all ages and occupations found this celebration more attractive than the government spectacle a few blocks away. Enormous crowds overflowed the churches and filled the Old Town square.

As the mass in St. John's Cathedral began, Solidarity banners were ceremoniously brought down the aisle. A wave of solemn tears and soulful cheers greeted the evocation of Poland's now-forbidden legend.

At the end of the mass in the church, the huge crowd in the streets commenced its own May Day parade. Many people had prepared for the occasion. Banners appeared saying "Solidarity Lives!" "Free Lech" and "Free Solidarity." Only one specifically evoked May Day, calling it—truthfully and ironically—a "Day of Workers Solidarity." Amazingly, the authorities allowed the march to proceed.

A dam had broken loose, but the sudden and ephemeral liberation was welcomed in a self-disciplined and responsible manner. And when it was over, most of the crowd of approximately 50,000 dispersed peacefully.

"You call this 'renewal'?"

The police, for their part, kept their distance and acted with restraint. Only at the end was there a minor clash. A few hundred of the independent May Day marchers made their way to the intersection of Jerozolimskie and Nowy Swiat. It was sealed off immediately by riot pol-

ice who emerged from the tourist buses they had camped in all day. The crowd began to taunt the police, making sounds of a raven (the junta's acronym spells "raven"), chanting "Gestapo!" and raising the Polish flag. The police then charged both the demonstrators as well as onlookers, pushing people into buildings and side streets. Anyone caught with a camera was forced to expose the film, while onlookers taunted, "You call this 'renewal'?"

The crowd was dispersed, but not before someone had draped a large Solidarity banner over the statue of Copernicus. To the delight of the crowd, the banner stayed put even after the police had "pacified" the street. It was truly an astonishing event: The banner held everyone in a trance.

Although policemen were standing all around the area, no one made a move to take it down. The symbol proved temporarily stronger than the armed force of the state. Finally, a car raced up to the statue, a policeman out of uniform climbed up, fumbled with the banner, got a grip and whisked it off in one bold swipe. Acting like a bandit, the policeman jumped back into the car and sped away, tires screeching.

On May 3 the police recovered their

sense of power.

That day's events—demonstrations in virtually all major Polish cities in honor of the 1791 Constitution—were astonishing because of the way they arose. The decision to hold a rally in Warsaw was made spontaneously at the end of the independent May Day march. At the appointed time of 4 p.m. on May 3, Warsaw's Old Town was again packed with tens of thousands of citizens, many of whom were wearing Solidarity buttons and pins of Poland's patron saint. The crowd was remarkably well-mixed in both age and occupation. The participants wanted to hold another peaceful rally, but the police imposed the full restrictions of martial law. Banners proclaiming Solidarity and the recently dissolved Independent Student Union were unfurled exactly at 4:00 p.m. to cheers and euphoria. The slogan chanted loudest and most often was "Free Lech!"

At 4:20 p.m., after two orders to disperse were met with whistles and jeers, the police attacked with water hoses, tear gas and clubs. Obviously stung by the constant taunt of "Gestapo! Gestapo!" the police appeared to relish the opportunity to use force. A middle-aged woman next to me turned to ask a policeman if there were another way to escape the gas

rebuild the cross by themselves. By the next day, thousands of people had brought flowers, candles and even a few protest signs to lay by the reconstructed memorial. The police have left it there, although they have kept a close watch and have arrested several people who seem to be talking too much to the perennial pilgrims.

The removal of the cross was a surprising development because the military authorities have gone out of their way to try to cultivate good relations with the Church. This, indeed, has been one of the key elements in the junta's activity so far. Since martial law, the authorities have given out more permissions to build churches than any previous post-war Polish government. At a time when school and hospital construction is being halted, construction of some 15 to 20 new churches in Warsaw alone has been given the go-ahead.

Meanwhile, people continually express amazement at the amount of time TV has devoted to church affairs. Apparently the authorities are desperately trying to reach an accord with the church in order to consolidate their particularly conservative brand of communism: socialism with a holy face, perhaps.

—D.O.

A Polish double-cross

One little-known event in the early morning hours of May 1 may be partly responsible for the rage of May 3. In preparing Victory Square for the official May Day celebrations, the authorities removed the giant cross made of flowers that has been an homage to the late Cardinal Wyszyński since his death in May 1981. Clearly, the government simply found the cross too embarrassing a backdrop for their May Day spectacle, which was being watched carefully by Poland's allies. (This is most likely the reason the police didn't intervene on May 1: International Workers Day is not the time to beat up workers.) When the Square was reopened to the public May Day evening, people noticed that the cross was missing.

Stealing a national symbol in Poland is a much more serious offense than stealing property. A protest was, of course, out of the question, although the fire within raged wildly. People just had to

and was immediately clubbed on the head and neck. A young man nearby was pulled to the side and, in a cloud of tear gas, was beaten by four policemen at once. Everyone knew who was in control again.

The crowd was so large—and the streets of the Old Town are so confused—that the crowd's dispersal was inevitably chaotic. Groups ran off in different directions, leading to an uncontrollable array of street fighting in several parts of the city at once. Retreating youths often stopped to tear down the red flags that had been hung for the holidays, then threw them to the pavement, stomped on them and ripped and even burned them. An hour later in the Old Town, few red flags were still hanging; yet the Polish flags remained.

The transition from a peaceful rally to fighting in the streets led to a noticeable transformation in the composition of the crowd. People of all ages had gathered in the Old Town. The street fighting crowd, however, was younger—mostly teenagers and people in their early 20s. They were often applauded by older onlookers, and passing cars honked their horns in solidarity. Although the authorities maintain a monopoly on power, it still seems that they will not be able to break the unity of Polish society.

The protesters sometimes carried rocks and spent cannisters, but more often they held only the Polish flag. As the police retreated, several dozen youths would holler and charge, then retreat wildly as the police turned around to fire more tear gas. One of the final clashes took place in the area of the former Jewish ghetto. When explosives landed near the monument to the martyrs, a woman wondered out loud who would be the next ones.

In its five months of power, the Jaruzelski regime has managed to cultivate only increasing enmity toward itself. Its failure to offer any program or hope has created a situation where desperate street battles are legitimate political activity. Nobody really feels the clashes have blocked the road to "national accord" because each day the government makes it clear that it is not the slightest bit interested. Vice-Premier Rakowski—playing his "tragic-hero" role to the hilt as he speaks to a televised press conference with his head down, staring at his hands—tells the nation that unfortunately these events will only put off the national accord.

But in the next sentence he says the future national accord need not include Solidarity because "this is a different politics today." (Remarks just like these have led increasing numbers of people to expect the formal abolition of Solidarity in the near future.)

The government, in other words, is ready to negotiate an accord with any collaborators who may come forth.

Although an overwhelming majority of Poles oppose the government, it continues to refuse to acknowledge any loyal opposition. Street fighting then seems as hopeful—or as futile—as anything else.

David Ost is In These Times' Poland correspondent.

Founded 1923

Camp Kinderland

For a unique progressive humanist summer experience through our rich cultural and recreational program.

Jewish secular values.
Awareness of Black, Hispanic and other ethnic cultures. Exploration of Labor, Women's, Peace and Freedom Movements.

A warm, sharing, non-competitive communal environment in the Berkshires. Magnificent private lake...full sports program...overnights...comprehensive arts program...C.I.T. program.

Ages 7-14 C.I.T. 15-17

1 Union Square West,

New York, NY 10003

212-255-6283

GRAINS OF WRAT



By Ken Meter

MINNEAPOLIS

RICH ZUPAR ROSE SLOWLY TO HIS FEET, speaking with a soft voice that could barely be heard in the meeting room. His dark, gentle eyes seemed reluctant to wander from the floor tile. Yet wander they did, and after a five-minute presentation Zupar was gazing pointedly at Minnesota Farmers Home director Russ Bjorhus.

It was a sunny April day—a perfect day for disking or planting. But Zupar joined 14 other members of Minnesota Community Organizations Acting Together (COACT) at the St. Paul office of the agency that is threatening to foreclose his farm. He is renting out his land. He has sold his equipment. He came to Bjorhus' office to ask why he was never notified of his right to appeal his liquidation notice and to demand such notice be given to other farmers.

The contingent was just one of seven that had gathered throughout the state on April 26. In each of the agency's seven district offices, similar groups had raised the same questions: Will you enact a moratorium on foreclosures? Why are loan payments being delayed? Why is so much loan money still unspent?

"We need the money to operate," said Margaret Kessner of Randall, Minn. "We have paid our debt ahead to 1983. Yet we were refused money this year because of 'poor management.'" Kessner then asked Bjorhus to release funds for her farm.

As a result of the statewide blitz on it, the agency promised several reforms. Bjorhus offered to direct the county offices to inform delinquent lenders of their right to appeal and said a list of proper appeal procedures would be added to the appeal notice. He also promised to send quarterly reports to COACT giving statistics on loans, delinquencies and liquidations.

Farmers left the meeting bewildered by the excuses offered by this agency that accused them of "mismanagement." The farmers knew that if their field work was weeks or months late, their crops would be a total loss. People would go hungry, farmers would lose their farms. Yet the agency carried on at a snail's pace, continuing its pressure on the most vulnerable farm operations.

The Minnesota meetings were part of a nationwide reaction to the farm credit crunch that is bearing down hard on farm families all around the nation. With crop prices at a dismal level—corn has been selling for 55 percent of the cost of production—nearly every observer is calling this the worst farm year in 50 years. The farmers' gloom is heightened by the fact that for many crops, the 1981 harvest was one of the best on record.

But a Georgia study discovered that average farm income in that state plummeted from \$10,000 a year in 1979 to \$785 a year later. In Minnesota, similarly, annual income fell from

\$46,000 to \$1,000 per farm. As a result, credit sources are tightening the screws, and farmers are resisting. Class action and other lawsuits have been filed in Georgia, Montana, Kansas, Oregon and Iowa in an effort to forestall foreclosures.

In Washington, D.C., an amendment to the bill that would authorize the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) to stay in business was recently penned by Representatives Tom Daschle (D-S.D.) and Byron Dorgan (D-N.D.). Their proposal would guarantee access to credit for anyone who suffers losses due to economic factors beyond their control. By a 13-5 vote, the House agriculture subcommittee on conservation, credit and rural development passed the measure to the full committee, which is expected to consider the bill sometime this month.

The last resort.

Not surprisingly, FmHA has borne the brunt of farmers' credit concerns. Designed as a lender of last resort, the agency has often loaned when all other credit sources refuse. Thus, the agency is first to confront the signals of hard times.

When a rash of bad weather devastated crops in 1978, FmHA was granted emergency allocations to help farmers pull through. But the program was rescinded two years later after it came under attack for ignoring small farmers in favor of larger borrowers.

Farmers around the country tell stories of the agency encouraging them to expand, only to clamp down on them for being too big as prices fell. In the wake of recent federal cutbacks, the agency has found itself severely understaffed even though it is processing as many loans as ever. But credit troubles are no fault of the agency, which is merely the messenger bringing the bad news.

As of Jan. 30, the agency was carrying \$4 billion in delinquent loans, and 59 percent of the agency's borrowers were behind in their payments. Reluctant to foreclose at a loss and aware of the public outcry that could result if farmers were foreclosed, the agency's strategy has been to weed out delinquent accounts by encouraging "voluntary liquidations."



Photographer: Steve Kagan

This weeding out process began in August when FmHA administrator Charles Shuman circulated a memo to the state directors. Shuman told them 23 to 31 percent of the delinquencies were to be terminated by each state.

Farm groups responded with irate appeals to the agency and to members of Congress, which prompted Agriculture Secretary John Block to issue a statement calling for FmHA directors to "cooperate" with delinquent borrowers. Block gave assurances that his intent was not to force farmers out of business.

A subsequent memo to the county offices listed conditions that borrowers would have to meet in order to qualify for the agency's cooperation. Shuman's letter was sent by electronic mail at 5 p.m. the evening before congressional hearings began on the Daschle-Dorgan amendment.

The directive named these five conditions: Farmers were asked to act in "good faith" with the FmHA; to make "an honest effort to pay" unless they couldn't due to "circumstances beyond their control"; to "apply recommended and recognized practices" in farm management; to account for secured property; and to have "a reasonable chance to repay any new (1982) loan" plus interest. Lenders who met these criteria were promised they would be carried by the FmHA for another year.

In spite of the new openness promised by the agency, liquidations escalated. In the last three months of 1981 there were 189 "voluntary" liquidations—only 10 less than the previous year. By the end of this February, the running total for five months had leaped to 1,315. An additional 543 farmers had been liquidated "involuntarily" by the agency in the same five months. The crucial month of March, when farmers need to make seed and chemical purchases, was yet to be tallied.

Texas topped the somber list of liquidations with 152. North Carolina came in with 137. Georgia and New York were the next two states, with 112 and 109 respectively. Only Alaska, Delaware and Hawaii escaped liquidations entirely.

The National Farmers Union legislative assistant Paul Sacia questioned these figures, claiming FmHA was drastically underreporting. He released figures to the subcommittee indicating that 2,300 farmers had been forced to liquidate in 1981. Sacia maintained his figures were from a source inside the agency, although the official count is only 300.

Whatever the actual tally, evidence of the depressed farm economy was mounting. The American Agriculture newspaper calculated that the total FmHA-financed debt in Grady County, Ga., was \$80 million—more than the combined value

of all land, or the combined value of the county. Mark Ritchie Rural Studies in Minnesota and sheriffs' sale: March. A national hog re farmers, or 14 percent of of business in 1981. Over in the Southeast. The Ok sation concluded the members had reported ne

The losses were not co In Vernon, Texas, the W pany filed for bankrupt million worth of cotton The Bank of Yorkville, i was forced to close in Fe farmers were liquidated

Farmers fight back

Such evidence of the ter prompted farmers, law, team together in a variet threat of liquidations. has crystallized around families who have plun battles with the agency. mainly played an indirec sota, where a coalition (COACT) has pushed t several reforms.

The American Agric. has used its network to the country. The Nation (NFO) has officially j in Iowa, along with the Union—whose state W hot line for state farm and the U.S. Farmers group has sponsored tr and lawyers to share le peace and parity confe June 5. Most Farmers U ed to play a background Washington while mak local press. Farm Burea criticized farmers who t

In 1978, the first tren just west of Bismarck,

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

LEFT OUT

GINA LOBACO IS A PAL, BUT HER ARTICLE on California Democratic Agenda (*ITT*, April 28) managed to ignore or distort a good deal of what went on at our conference.

Lobaco contends, for instance, that the conference merely "rounded up the usual suspects." It is true that perhaps as many as 175 of the participants at Democratic Agenda (DA) had attended either the California Project or the Economic Dislocation conference. It is also true that more than 650 had not. The largest conference of the California left in a number of years, the Agenda turnout included more than 100 seniors and a like number of students, to list just two constituencies not well represented at either of the earlier conferences. Turnouts half again as large came from each of the organizations active in the left wing of the Democratic Party: CED, ADA, the Democratic clubs, not to mention some 100 members of DSA. One quarter of the conference registrants were trade unionists, evenly divided between public and private sector unions, which leads us to Gina's most mystifying misstatement—

—that, as Michael Harrington is alleged to have said, no unions have thus far come forth to support DA. In fact, Harrington is no more likely to have said this than he is to be taking up the cause of Pol Pot. For DA has been running this spring in large part through contributions from the IAM and UAW at the international level. The California conference was put on largely through support that came from the California Federation of Teachers and the regional IAM, with help from the SEIU and other unions. Speakers at this labor-shunned activity ranged from the building trades—Bricklayers president John Joyce—to west coast Longshoremen's president Jimmy Herman.

It is just this wide variety of participants willing to work in ongoing DA activity in California that enables DA to

claim some turf in what is admittedly a crowded political landscape. The goal is not to supplant any existing organizations, but to supplement and enhance their efforts through a labor-left coalition active around specific legislation, in party affairs and in support of progressive candidates. There is currently no such animal in California politics, and the prospect of forming one excited a majority of conference participants, activists in active organizations, to designate concrete activities they would like to undertake to help establish an ongoing California DA.

As for Gore Vidal, whose specter did not exactly haunt the conference but figured mightily in her piece, I can only conclude that had he been there, the substance of his speech, like that of every other speech at the conference, would have gone unmentioned by Lobaco.

—Harold Meyerson
West Coast Coordinator,
Democratic Agenda
Los Angeles

NOT QUITE

REGRETABLELY, I WOULD LIKE TO CORRECT a statement made by Gina Lobaco in her article on the California Democratic Agenda (*ITT*, April 28), which speaks of Gore Vidal's Senate candidacy and says, "Vidal also has staunch support from the Citizens Party."

While it may be true that Vidal has support from individual Citizens Party members, the Citizens Party of California has not officially supported Vidal or any other candidate in other parties' primary candidate races.

—Harvey Dinerstein
Mill Valley, Calif.

BEST

ENCLOSED IS A SMALL CHECK. CAN'T tell you how sorry I am that I can't send more. Congratulations on a great paper and all my best to you.

—T.J. Hyland
Denver

UNKIND CUT

BARBARA PRESLEY NOBLE'S ARTICLE on campus protests against proposed financial aid/student loan cuts (*ITT*, May 5) had several glaring omissions. When interviewed by Noble, I described several large grassroots mobilizations taking place on campuses across the country. Her article failed to mention rallies of more than 5,000 at Stonybrook, 1,000 at U.C. Santa Barbara, hundreds at the U. of Houston, U. of Mo.-Columbia, St. Louis area schools; teach-ins at Yale, Cornell; a tent-city at the capitol-U.W. Madison; letter-writing campaigns, informational pickets and voter registration drives at Stanford, Idaho State U., Oregon State U., to name just a few of the actions we discussed. The article did not mention that these and other actions were part of a National Day of Protest Against the Cuts on April 6. Noble briefly refers to SMAC, the Student Mobilization Against the Cuts, initiated by the Youth Section of the Democratic Socialists of America, but she does not mention the continuing activities of students working with church groups, campus and community unions, Democratic Party people, feminists and others against student aid and other social spending cuts.

SMAC was a nationwide grassroots mobilization, yet *ITT* reported only a (very successful and worthwhile) top-down congressional lobby. We can understand the *New York Times* preferring to cover a national narrowly single-issue lobby. We cannot understand why *ITT* would ignore a grassroots mobilization that specifically tied student aid to cuts in other social programs, to the bloated military budget and to concern for university workers.

—Penny Schantz
National Youth Organizer,
Democratic Socialists of America

Editor's note: We are eager to report on such activities when we know about them, but we must rely on the organizers or participants in various localities to let us know when they occur.

UNEASY MORAL OBLIGATIONS

REMARKABLY LITTLE ATTENTION has been paid to children in the "family" debate carried on in the pages of *In These Times*—yet children and the adults who raise them are what makes a family. Whether the parents are single, coupled or communal, gay or straight, natural or adoptive, they have taken on the most intense and simultaneously rewarding and painful obligation that they are every likely to have. It's fine with me if pairs or groups of adults who share love and intimacy, but have not been through the child-bearing process, wish to call themselves families. But that is not the core meaning of the word.

Obligation, imbued as it is with the traditions of liberal individualism, is not easily accepted as a moral category for the American left. At least Michael Lerner recognizes the difficulty of the enterprise and the need for moral as well as financial support. His critics treat the members of a family solely as individuals with individual rights who have somehow become part of an "institution" that, like school, has the function of reproducing capitalism. The right of a battered woman to escape to a shelter is undeniable—here the liberal tradition of individual rights remains liberating. But the right of a child to escape an abusive family is not enough. Someone must accept parental obligations and feelings for that child.

The democratic left needs to shift people's resentment from "welfare bums" and "women's libbers" to the capitalists who devastate communities with plant closures and despoil our environment. It would help us in that task, I think, if the left recognized the validity of the pain and frustration involved in enduring personal commit-

ments. Yes, love and intimacy are where it's at, but it takes hard work and endurance and a little help from our friends to get there. We shouldn't pretend that it will all be effortless "after the revolution" or act as if people didn't need and deserve support now because the "larger" political tasks are so much more important. If we can't improve our havens and make the world less heartless at the same time, I doubt that we'll succeed at either.

—Stephen E. Barton
Albany, Calif.

WHAT WAS IT?

MITCHELL KAIDY (LETTERS, *ITT*, April 28) questions the motivation behind the Democratic Socialists of America's uncharitable attitude toward the PLO.

Well, why did DSA avoid recognizing the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people? Perhaps because the PLO's representative status is tenuous. According to a recent article by Robert Friedman in *The Nation*, whereas most West Bank and Gaza Palestinians prefer an independent West Bank-Gaza state and find the Fahd peace plan preferable to the Camp David Accords, the PLO Executive voted 13 to two against endorsing the Fahd proposals—one of the two moderates being Yasir Arafat. Friedman documents how unrepresentative elements are taking over the PLO and threatening Arafat. Perhaps the Socialist International isn't aware of this yet (they don't read *The Nation*), or perhaps SI's idealism has become slick—oily slick.

Kaidy's fertile imagination asserts itself in his celebration of the "proto-socialist" PLO. Where is there talk of "socialism" on the PLO charter? Arafat is a dyed-in-the-wool bourgeois nationalist. What PLO actions constitute socialism? The PLO has the capacity to provide essential services to its Lebanese constituency only because it is heavily subsidized by OPEC states—the PLO is the fat cat of national liberation movements. What proof is there that the PLO "practices non-discrimination" towards Jews? There are no Jews in Lebanon.

Kaidy omits certain uncomfortable facts. The closest the top Palestinian brass ever came to collectively endorsing "socialism" was when the Mufti in the '30s and '40s endorsed National Socialism. The PLO supported the butcher Idi Amin and trains European neo-Nazi terrorists like the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann in Lebanon. Perhaps the PLO is just a wee bit jealous of Israel's links with neo-Nazi and fascist regimes?

Kaidy's view of ancient history would give an archaeologist apoplexy. Is Begin bent on "annihilating all traces of a pre-Biblical place called Palestine?" *Palestine* was the name given to the land by the Romans—post-Biblical, as I recall. Centuries before that, it was called —aw shucks, you guessed it—Israel.

Kaidy really exposes himself, however, when he calls Israel a "fascist" state. Israeli "fascism" is notorious for its democratic elections, its 20 or so vocal and vigorous opposition parties (including a legal Communist Party), legalized trade unions and socialist collectives—*kibbutzim*—(particularly those that do not hire labor). Kaidy would be aghast at how the fascist Histadrut provides so many benefits and services for its member workers—more, in fact, than unions do in America.

What prompted Kaidy to make his remarks? Idiocy? Or to paraphrase Kaidy, was it something else? Was it anti-Semitism?

It was anti-Semitism.

—Sheldon Ranz
New York

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Subscribe to IN THESE TIMES



"In These Times is a fresh and badly needed voice in independent left journalism."

—I.F. Stone

☐ YES, I want to try **IN THESE TIMES**, the alternative newsweekly! I don't even have to enclose payment now—you'll bill me later. **MY GUARANTEE:** if at any time I decide to cancel, you will refund my money on all unmailed copies, with no questions asked.

☐ Send me 6 months for only \$12.95.

☐ Send me one year for only \$23.50.

☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Bill me later.
☐ Charge my: ☐ VISA ☐ Master Charge

Acct. No. _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

IN THESE TIMES

1509 N. Milwaukee
Chicago, IL 60622

SCHOOLING

Planning to keep them in their place

By Deborah Meier

AERICAN PUBLIC schools are supposed to offer children equal education, but according to the latest wisdom poor children need something different. An article in the *American Educator* (Fall 1980) summarizes several recent studies and claims that "children from lower socio-economic" backgrounds do best in classrooms where "instruction is at a low level of complexity." Children of the poor are said to do best when given "simple-answer or multiple choice questions instead of encouraging them to analyze, synthesize or evaluate." Effective schools for the lower-classes "seldom amplify, discuss or incorporate" their students' ideas. A "highly cognitive classroom" is just not good for them, but it's fine for students from better educated and more wealthy families.

This discovery lies behind a wave of aggressively promoted reforms: the "more effective schools" movement, "minimum competency testing," "mastery learning" and tougher promotional policies.

In reformed classrooms, the "basic skills" are divided into hundreds of precisely defined subskills. Reading is laid before children sequentially, beginning with separate sounds, then words, and on through "recalling facts" and selecting the "main idea." Each subskill is directly taught, according to script, and then tested.

Such programs, reports journalist-advocate Robert Benjamin, "assume that kids know next to nothing.... Teaching sequences are designed to permit only one interpretation whenever possible." In some programs the class drills in unison. In others, children sit in individual carrels, moving through pre-packaged programs. For optimum effectiveness conversation or speculation by children or teachers is discouraged. Benjamin urges parents to monitor classrooms "to insure that no activities take place that don't bear directly on the subject of the lesson." The slogan is "time on-task."

Some programs also teach "citizenship" with a scoring system for "being on time and meeting deadlines." Art and music are introduced only as a relief from "real work." Questions of taste and judgment are out of order because to insure that no activities take place they are too vague to be quantified.

Mastery programs do not stop at any specified level. Everything worth learning, mastery fans contend, can be similarly taught. The rewards are immediate—points, tokens or the privilege of moving to the next step. Nothing is offered that children cannot quickly "master," no leaps of imagination, no complex problem solving, no uncertainty or anxiety, no unplanned human interactions to cause frustration. And, therefore, no discipline problems either, they say!

This fool proof recipe for educational perfection is said to work best for children of the poor. The mix is different for the middle class, and reversed for the elite.

Elite schools are aimed at producing decision-makers, those capable of entering public discourse in defense of their own traditions, viewpoints and interests. The elite schools (and classes for the "gifted") respect the knowledge and experience of their students and families. They do not ask five-year-olds to ignore their own hard-won ideas. They treasure and reward children's efforts to make sense out of the world. The elite schools I attended in my youth quickly got on to

studying the exciting things of life, if not always in the most exciting ways. There was bad teaching and mindless activity. But there was also subject matter.

To be sure, the curriculum of elite schools is in part dictated by the desire to be exclusive. Some subjects have status precisely because they are badges of class distinction. But the focus on history, the arts, sciences and literature has another rationale. It is the way the academy subdivides human effort to make sense of the world and to appreciate it. Such a curriculum has the possibility of linking children's own relentless effort to make the world sensible and pleasing with the efforts of others, past and present. Further, elite schools take pride in fostering "character," not "being good," the former connoting strength rather than docility. These are schools to prepare children to rule.

On paper, lower class schools have had a similar curriculum. However, when I began teaching in poor Chicago neighborhoods in 1962, I rarely observed classes studying anything at all. The language and experience of the students were taboo. The focus was on penmanship, spelling, computation, choral reading, neatness. My Harlem kindergarten students unanimously agreed that the important things to learn in school were: "Do what you're told," "raise your hand," "follow directions," "be good." Lower-class schools were inconsistent, however. Children did get glimpses of another curriculum, occasionally encountered inspiring teachers or programs that offered a wider view of education and life.

The new reformers hope to eliminate this inconsistency. Claiming a primary concern for the bottom half, they charge public schools have failed to teach the "basics." The irresponsible romantics—progressives and radicals—betrayed the poor by trying to provide a liberal elite-style education. In the effort, children received neither basics nor a liberal education. First things first, they argue. Only with close monitoring and a tightly controlled "instructional system" can all schools guarantee to deliver the three Rs to all children.

A flawed theory.

The reformers' argument would pose a tough dilemma if it were true that poor children could not master the three Rs without sacrificing a liberal education. But no credible data, no past experience and no theory of learning supports this conclusion.

The major rationale for the new reforms lies in norm-referenced test data. (See "Reading tests are a classy device," *In These Times*, March 17). This test data allegedly demonstrated that schools have failed to teach the bottom half its three Rs. But norm-referenced tests, built on questionable assumptions and biases, produce results that reflect children's backgrounds, not their schooling or intelligence. Furthermore, the tests are scored on a rank-order basis. Half the children should always fail. Proponents of the new reforms are themselves sharp critics of such tests, yet they rest their arguments for their reforms on them.

If the testing data is suspect, so is the reformers' version of history.

Today literacy is perceived as the ability to handle high school curriculum. Yet it is only since the 40s that most Americans completed high school. Moreover, if we used old definitions, students reading at fourth grade levels would be considered minimally literate. Our expectations have risen, our schools have not declined.

Furthermore, it is not true that progressive educators or '60s radicals ever took over the schools. Even where they had a

foothold, it was rarely in low-income neighborhoods. In programs where low-income children received an elite-style education, for example, some of the Follow-Through programs, there is no credible evidence it did not work. The tests used to discredit the programs measured testing skills, not educational achievement. No doubt low-income children did not learn as much as their more affluent peers. But to use that as proof that elite education is inappropriate for poorer children is tortured logic. Children do not learn from school alone. To be "advanced" remains an advantage.

The notion that disconnecting literacy from subject matter, or dividing large and meaningful chunks of language and knowledge into small and meaningless subskills, helps children learn is curious. Developed originally for teaching brain-damaged children it is based on treating the brain like a computer, and a primitive computer at that. Contemporary biologists, linguists and cognitive psychologists have demonstrated that the human brain accomplishes miracles that no existing computer model can explain. Between the ages of two and five, for example, every child masters his or her own language—a task that involves learning more than six thousand words and nearly a thousand rules of grammar. These rules, moreover

A host of school "reforms" are designed to strengthen the class divisions in education.

are filled with contradictions and exceptions that no contemporary linguist yet understands. Learning to read poses an equally baffling mystery, one solved however by average children with barely any direct instruction or patently silly instruction. Chinese children learn to read as easily as anyone else, although they must learn to read thousands of distinctive ideographs unaided by any phonic subskills. If we accept a computer model for the brain, we are at a loss to explain how children manage any of these.

We are apparently born into the world theorists, not computers, actively seeking and expecting to find patterns and predictable relationships. We know one person from another, not by dividing their features into subparts, but seeing them whole within a personally meaningful context. Our brains are constantly reinterpreting reality, not simply storing neutral data. Even anxiety and frustration have value. They are not necessarily enemies to the process of creatively building theories and imagining alternatives.

What arrogance for proponents of mastery learning to claim they can decide everything children need to know, can break down this vast body of knowledge into micro-units and, most amazingly, can order the most effective sequence for learning them.

Fortunately most children don't take school instruction literally. They believe they are doing what they're told, but studies of individual children indicate that what good students actually do and what they have been taught are not always the same thing. The drive to make sense wins out for most.

Saddest of all, this narrow model of human intelligence is prescribed most rigorously for precisely those children whose vision most needs widening, whose curiosity needs stimulation, whose thirst for meaning needs nourishment. Their greater need for education is used as the rationale for depriving them of it.

Programs based on the basic skills model leads schools in low-income neighborhoods to an obsessive commitment to reading labs, remedial reading specialists and endless test coaching, but few books. The Montgomery County Community College in Pennsylvania, notes the *New York Times*, has dropped its library science program for a weapons training program. Who needs school librarians any more?

Ask students in low-income schools why reading is important. So you can pass the reading test, they begin confidently. But why is that so important? So you won't get left-back? But why does that matter? Because you won't graduate. Why graduate? To get a job, they propose hesitantly. If pressed for when and why grown-ups need to read, they finally suggest, "to read directions."

The truth is that a literacy test that does not require high level cognition—"analysis, synthesis and evaluation"—is not worth the effort we exert on its behalf. Even the shallowest mastery of a decent high school or college curriculum requires something beyond the accumulation of hundreds of low-level skills.

In short, the case for accepting a two-class school system is fraudulent. In the past, public schools taught poor children minimal literacy without any of the new-fangled educational technology. But these schools too were educationally impoverished. There is no evidence that trying to educate children prevents them from continuing to learn their three Rs. There is considerable evidence that children do best when treated as though they are naturally designed to learn what makes sense, rather than as robots designed for precoded non-sense.

The alternative is the one we have always offered the elite: a school in which children learn because they are offered subject matter worth reading and writing about. What's good enough for the rich ought to be good enough for everyone. ■

Deborah Meier is director of the Central Park East School in New York.

There's still time
to register for:

Progressive Planning Summer Program Cornell University

Courses in Planning:

June 7-25 and
June 28-July 16

Institutes:

Plant Closings
June 10-12

Community
Economic
Development
Strategies
June 21-25

Lessons From
Progressives in
Office

June 24-25

Management Training
for Community
Enterprises and
Democratically
Managed Businesses
June 28-July 2

Land Trusts and
Land Use Planning

July 5-8

Contact:

Sander Keiman,
Department of City
and Regional
Planning, Cornell
University, 107 West
Sibley, Ithaca, NY
14853, (607)256-6212

On the same weekend that the World's Fair opened in Knoxville, Tenn., the 13th Annual New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival, or Jazzfest, kicked off its two-week program. Its opening Sunday drew more than 95,000 people, easily outdrawing the World's Fair opening day—and for good reason. No other outdoor festival in the U.S. attracts such a broad cross-section of participants and patrons.

The Jazzfest is unique, drawing on a wealth of local and national musicians, cooks and craftspeople as well as international bands. Three quarters of the musicians, nearly all the cooks and at least 40 percent of the craftspeople are locals.

The Jazzfest places a strong emphasis on the diverse cultures found in Louisiana. Probably no other American city has such a wide range of musical cultures side by side, influenced by an influencing each other. Produced by jazz impresario George Wein, the Jazzfest presents jazz, blues, cajun, r&b (rhythm and blues), country and Latin music.

The predominant music, jazz, ranges from traditional New Orleans marching brass band music to the new musical styles some call avant-garde. Blues artists range from nationally-known B.B. King through legendary regional artists such as piano-playing blues singer Roosevelt "The Honeydipper" Sykes to young country blues apprentices, many of them white.

Cajun music includes traditional fiddle and accordion-led bands, contemporary cajun using electric instruments and blends of r&b and rock and the volatile black cajun music called zydeco. R&b features mainly New Orleans artists such as Fats Domino, Aaron Neville and Ir-



The sounds of many cultures



Riverboat ride headliner Rita Marley (above, center); the dance group Voodoo Macumba (above); B.B. King (right).

ma Thomas, considered founding figures of the genre. (In the '50s New Orleans was the hottest r&b city in the U.S.) Country music participants at the Jazzfest annually include winners of state fiddling competitions.

Much of Louisiana was once under Spanish rule, and has a legacy of Latin culture. As the most active seaport in the country, the "Crescent City" is also a major central and South American connection. And its large Hispanic population supports Latin bands and orchestras that perform at the Jazzfest.

The musical essence of the Jazzfest is the "Great Black Music," especially traditional jazz and gospel. In the jazz tent old masters such as banjoist, gui-

tarist, composer and singer Danny Barker with his partner, vocalist Blue Lu Barker, and his band, the Jazzhounds, present traditional New Orleans jazz. The Jazzfest also features young innovators such as sensational 20-year-old trumpeter Wynton Marselis, whose band includes his 21-year-old brother Branford on saxophone. The Marselis brothers are the sons of New Orleans pianist and music professor Ellis Marselis. This year the Tulane Hot Jazz Classic, under the direction of the Tulane University Jazz Archive, concentrated on the traditional jazz music of New Orleans and featured a series of special programs.

The gospel tent features the best of local gospel choirs and soloists. Indicative of its popularity, there are more gospel groups than any other genre. Traditional jazz parades featuring marching brass bands, tradi-

tional black marching clubs and "second liners" (people who dance alongside and behind the band) winds its way once a day through the throng of fans. The black Mardi Gras Indians, resplendent in handcrafted, brightly-colored costumes featuring feathered headdresses, are another unique expression of New Orleans black culture.

Traditional foods and crafts are also a major attraction of the Jazzfest.

Black voices heard.

The Jazzfest's cultural diversity and strengths are no happy accident. Community participation was fought for and won. Sponsored by the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Foundation and for the last 10 years supported in part by the Schlitz Brewing Co., the Jazzfest traditionally did not include many blacks in decision-making, even though many of

the performers were black.

But four years ago black residents, myself included, organized an Afro-American Jazzfest Coalition, and we threatened a black boycott of the festival. Negotiations resulted not only in more blacks on the Foundation board but also in the creation of a black-controlled area called Koindu (a place of exchange) at the fairgrounds.

The Koindu area has since become the most visible addition to the Jazzfest. It consists of one stage and about a dozen crafts booths. The stage presents music, poetry, dance and drill teams, all of which previously had not been included. The crafts, besides jewelry and leatherwork by Afro-American craftspeople, include paintings, Haitian sculpture and baskets, African sculpture, tie-dye clothing and musical instruments.

The crafts became a major bone of contention. Some Jazzfest board members contended

that only crafts made by the people displaying them should be included. A few were contemptuous of the quality of the crafts. Behind these arguments were cultural conflicts concerning the nature of art. Coalition members refused to debate the merits of the Afro-American crafts, and suggested that only the Koindu people should decide which crafts could be displayed. The Koindu board eventually opened the crafts space strictly on a first come first serve basis.

Two leading local artists, Douglas Redd and Lucien Barian, designed the Koindu area. Using a horseshoe shape they modeled it on traditional West African villages. Koindu has become not only a place to enjoy black-oriented performance and to purchase African-derived crafts, but a meeting place.

Another major point of contention has been what to do with money made from the Jazzfest, which in the last few years has finally turned a significant profit. The Coalition prodded the Foundation to give community grants and that approach was tried one year with mixed results. Last year the Board sponsored a free one-weekend mini-music festival, despite objections by Jazzfest producer Wein (who is not on the board). The free music festival proved a big local hit.

Although some criticized this year's night lineup for being too bland, this year's festival, thanks in part to excellent weather, financially was one of the most successful Jazzfests ever. Again this year the Foundation board will have to decide how to give back the profits generated from America's most distinctive outdoor music festival.

Kalamu ya Salaam is the editor of Black Collegian magazine and a board member of the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Foundation.



Steve Kogan

DISARMAMENT CALENDAR

As a service to our readers and to disarmament organizations, IN THESE TIMES has prepared the following DISARMAMENT CALENDAR featuring events that focus on disarmament issues occurring across the nation. This same calendar will also appear next week.

MILWAUKEE, WI

May 31-June 16

Milwaukee Mobilization for Survival is sponsoring a Memorial Day peace service at 11 a.m. at Lakefront Art Center; June 12 rally for Jobs and Peace Referendum Campaign at 7:30 p.m., Central Methodist Church, 25th and Wisconsin; June 11, buses leave for UN Second Special Session on Disarmament; June 16, Marvin Kalkstein's course, Nuclear Weapons and World Politics, begins at Marquette U. (414) 272-0961 for information.

NEW YORK, NY

June 2, 3 & 12

New York City Disarmament Campaign June 2: Public Meeting 7:30, 135 W. 4th Street. June 3: San Francisco Mime Troupe, "Fact Wino Meets the Moral Majority," 8 p.m., Fashion Institute of Technology, 27th St. & 7th Ave. Tickets \$7. June 12: Volunteers needed to serve as Peacekeepers, Fundraisers, Medics. For information: (212) 460-8992.

June 4-6

Conference: "Social Scientists & Nuclear War." Speakers include Elise Boulding, Chair Dartmouth Sociology Dept., prominent feminist; Zhores Medvedev, USSR dissident; Robert Jay Lifton, Yale University; Eqbal Ahmad. Registration Friday & Saturday, 8:30 a.m. CUNY Grad Center, 33 W. 42nd St. \$25 donation, \$10 students. Conference facilitators: Raymond Franklin (212) 790-4320, Howard Gruber (201) 648-5150.

June 4

"Disarmament: An Aid to Development?" Luncheon speech by Hon. Inga Thorsson, Sweden's Undersecretary of State for Disarmament. Thorsson has been former chair of UN Disarmament & Development Study Group, member of Sweden's Parliament for 10 years, and chairperson of Sweden's disarmament delegation since 1973. \$12.00 per person, reservations required. Society for International Development, (212) 599-3363.

June 4

Open gathering to follow the close of an international women's conference sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom for the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament. Leading women speakers from around the world, entertainment, refreshments. Friday 7:30-9:30 p.m. Barnard College Gymnasium. Donation requested.

June 5-6

St. Mark's Disarmament Weekend—10th St. & 2nd Ave. Saturday: Poets for 6/12 Rally. Noon-poets & bands. Sunday: 10:30 a.m. Mass with 2 members Japanese United Nations Delegation. 2:00 p.m. International Teach-In. Arnold Braithwaite, U.S. Peace Council; Guido Grunewald, member Federal German Republic Peace Society; Serge Parmanoff, USSR 1st Secretary UN; John Benson, Australian Labor Party Executive Board. Martha Wilcox, musical entertainment.

June 5-6

Theatre for the New City's Festival for Nuclear Disarmament. 162 2nd Ave. Outside 2-8, music and street theatre. 3 p.m., Children's show. Theatre 8 p.m., works by Barbara Garson, John Michael Teblik, Renny Charlip, Al Carmines, Irene Fornes, Leonard Melfi, Jean Claude van Italle, Stephen Holt and Helen Hanft. Cabaret, 10 p.m., Reservations & Info, (212) 254-1109, Scott Briefer.

June 7-July 9

Plowshares Coffee House, weekdays 10 a.m.-7 p.m., with occasional evening programming, 777 UN Plaza. Speeches, workshops, entertainment, informal discussion, refreshments, literature. Sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, (914) 358-4601. For more information contact Ann Headley, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

June 7-17

"Hibakusha: Stories from Hiroshima," a Modern Times Theater Production. "Set in Hiroshima, with a wide, vivid cast of characters, Hibakusha uses the strength of the stage with fresh, incisive power...a lesson in history and an affecting vision of our future." (IN THESE TIMES, 4/14/82) For times/places, call (212) 242-4517.

June 8-10

Reverence for Life: Assembly of Religious Denominations, Spiritual Communities & International Peace Organizations. International assembly of grassroots networks, peace organizations, religious & lay leadership. Speakers include

Daniel Berrigan, Elise Boulding, Edward Bednar & Paul Mayer. \$25 donation. Pre-registration checks payable to Reverence for Life, include phone number, area interest, organizational/religious affiliation. 45 East 78th Street, NY, NY 10021. (212) 737-8872.

June 9

International Roundtable of Trade Unionists on Disarmament. Participants: David Livingston, President District 65 United Auto Workers; Moe Foner, Executive Director District 1199, Cultural Center; Henry Dropkin, Vice President Amalgamated Textile and Clothing Workers Union; Mitsuo Tomizuka, General Secretary Sohyo (Japanese Federation of Labor); Torasori Kumamoto, Director Political Affairs Sohyo; Jacques Bosse, Secretary Metal Workers Federation of France. Moderator: Betty Lall, Director Cornell Labor Program (NYSSILR). 7:30 p.m. United Engineering Center, 1st Avenue at 47th Street.

June 9-11

Hope Against Hope: A Special Seminar on Disarmament. United Methodists from all over the city will attend this event. Participants will examine the arms race, intervention and the budget priorities of the Reagan administration as they reflect, study and plan for action. Sponsored by United Methodist Seminars. Registration required. (212) 682-3633.

June 10-July 11

People's Assembly: Five weeks of educational programs. 6/10-Opening Session & Reception, sponsored by World Citizens Assembly. 7 p.m., Plowshares Coffee House, 777 United Nations Plaza. 6/13-Awareness for Survival & Global Security, sponsored by UNESCO & others. 1:30, United Methodist Church, Park Ave. & 60th. 6/15 -Nuclear Arms Freeze, sponsored by American Friends Service Committee. 7 p.m., Plowshares Coffee House. 6/17-American Foreign Policy Evaluated, sponsored by Americans for Democratic Action. 7 p.m., Henry George School, 5 E. 44th St. For more information call (212) 289-3353.

June 12

Rally for Disarmament—June 12th Coalition. Four march routes will converge on the rally site, 1st Ave. & 42nd St., from the following staging areas: 59th & 5th Ave.; 59th & Central Park West; 31st & 7th Ave.; Vanderbilt Ave. & 43rd. Speakers: To be announced. Entertainment: Jackson Browne, Holly Near, Linda Ronstadt, Pete Seeger and James Taylor. Seating for elderly & handicapped Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza, 47th & 1st Ave. For more information call (212) 460-8980.

June 14

Blockade the Bombmakers! Non-violent direct action at missions to the UN of the five nuclear powers (U.S., USSR, China, France and Great Britain). Non-violence training required. Civil Disobedience Campaign, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012. (212) 777-4737.

July 5-16

International Institute for Peace Education. PUBLIC FORUM July 5—Major figures UN Disarmament Affairs & international peace educators. 9-4 Main Hall Teacher's College, Columbia University. \$25. INSTITUTE—for teachers, community college staff, activists, with international peace educators. \$440 credited/\$350 non-credited. Half-time available. Continuing Education, Box 132, Teacher's College, NY, NY 10027. (212) 678-3791.

PITTSBURGH, PA

June 5

Pittsburgh Peace Network, representing 45 groups in Western Pennsylvania, is sponsoring a march and rally. The march leaves the Federal Building at 11 a.m. Rally in Market Square at noon. Featured speaker is Michio Kaku, professor of nuclear physics, City College of New York. (412) 381-1400/1405 for information.

LOS ANGELES, CA

June 6

Peace Sunday—"We Have a Dream" 1:00 p.m., Rose Bowl, \$12.50. Historic coalition of religious, peace, antinuclear activists, people of all colors working together. Performers include Jackson Browne, Dan Fogelberg, Linda Ronstadt, Stevie Wonder & Jessie Colin Young. Speakers include Patti Davis, Rabbi Leonard Beerman, Michio Kaku, John Trudell. Tickets usual locations. (213) 466-4240.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 8

Poetry Allies: Poets for Nuclear Disarmament—8 p.m., Free. Featuring 20 poets, Christ Church Auditorium, 620 G Street SE. (202) 347-4824. Sponsored by a large coalition of groups, including the D.C. Peace Center and Artists for Dis-

armament.

June 12

For bus information to the New York Rally call the D.C. Peace Center, (202) 234-2000.

BOSTON, MA

June 12

Get Me to the Demonstration on Time—Ride the Boston Peace Train to the UN Rally. It leaves South Station 6:30 a.m., with seats available \$36 round trip. Activities for passengers include guitar playing and singing, postermaking, informal discussion of world issues. Buses are also available. Reservations required from the Greater Boston June 12th Campaign, (617) 497-6754.

PHILADELPHIA, PA

June 12

Over 100 buses will depart for the UN rally at which stop the Nukes song contest winner will be introduced. Other events also organized to support rally by over 50 local peace, labor and religious groups of the June 12th Coalition, 2125 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19103. (215) 569-1974.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

June 12

March and Rally to support the UN Special Session on Disarmament is being organized in San Francisco on June 12. It will begin with an interfaith Witness for Peace at 9:45 a.m., Mission Dolores Basilica, and will continue with a march from Dolores Park to Civic Center where a rally will be held beginning at noon. For more information please call (415) 441-5014.

LIVERMORE, CA

June 21

Demonstration and blockade, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, where first-strike nuclear weapons are developed. Rally, Saturday, June 19 in Oakland. Non-violence training required for blockade. Contact: Livermore Action Group, 3126 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94703, (415) 644-2028 or 644-3031.

learn weapons are developed. Rally, Saturday, June 19 in Oakland. Non-violence training required for blockade. Contact: Livermore Action Group, 3126 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94703, (415) 644-2028 or 644-3031.

LAKE WINNEPESAUKEE, NH

July 17-24

"The Human Race vs. the Arms Race: The Reality and the Alternatives" is the theme of the American Friends Service Committee's 1982 Avon Institute. Resource persons include: Margaret Burnham, Jerome Frank, Marta Daniels, Eugene Rivers, Stephen Cary, and Frances Crowe. Special presentation by John Kenneth Galbraith. Excellent children's program. Brochure from AFSC, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

July-September

At the Foot of the Mountain, a professional women's theater in Minneapolis, has a history of producing high-quality theater challenging the boundaries between art and social reflection. "Ashes, Ashes, We All Fall Down," their play about nuclear madness, is available for touring July-September, 1982, and April-May, 1983. Call Terri at (612) 375-9487 for further information.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA

August 6-9

An international peace festival featuring discussions, seminars, classical, folk and rock music, theater, dance and film will be held. Young people from East and West Europe will attend and Americans are particularly invited. If you would like to perform a musical act connected with peace, send a cassette to Worthy Farm, Pilton, Shepton Mallet, Somerset BA4 4BY, England. For information on attending, contact Gerhard Grossing, Austrian National Union of Students, Liechtensteinstrasse 13, 1090 Wien, Austria.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Paul Ginger**.

BOONE, IA

May 28-31

The 7th Annual Midwest Radical Therapy Conference will take place at Camp Hantessa in Boone, Iowa. Theme: "Using Radical Therapy for Social Change." Workshops and speakers on Radical Therapy, the draft, racism, sexism, the anti-nuclear struggle, networking and community-building and many more. Cost includes: food, lodging and child-care. Registration is \$75.00 in advance and \$85.00 on site. Write: Midwest Radical Therapy Conference, P.O. Box 521, Madison, WI 53701 or call Max at (608) 255-1448.

NASHVILLE, TN

May 29-30

Southern Democratic Socialist Education Conference at Scarritt College. Join Eddie James Carthan, Manning Marable, H.L. Mitchell and Andrea Young for plenary and workshop sessions on Democratic Socialism and the South. Registration is \$15. For information contact Bill Barclay, Democratic Socialists of America, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 871-7700.

AMES, IA

May 30-31

Iowa Socialist Party state convention, Pioneer and Gallery Rooms, Memorial Union, ISU. Frank Zeidler, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, 1948-60; Tony Smith on "Deepening Crisis in U.S. Capitalism"; Antonio Ybarra of Nicaragua. *Northern Lights*. ISP, Box 924, Iowa City 52244.

BERKSHIRES, NY

June 4-6

The Berkshire Forum presents "Western Europe: Turmoil on the Left," discussed by Vicente Navarro—one of a series of expertly-led weekend vacation workshops in a delightful mountain retreat. Modern lodge. Fine food. Spring-fed swimming pond. Tennis. Write, call Berkshire Forum, Stephentown, NY 12168, (518) 733-5497.

BURLINGTON, VT

June 4-6

"What If We Ran the City? Seeking Democratic

Solutions for Local Problems"—a conference sponsored jointly by New England Union for Radical Political Economics and the Mayor's Office, Burlington, Vt. Keynote address by Mayor Bernie Sanders, Friday evening, June 4; Workshops Saturday and Sunday; Party Saturday night. Place: Burlington City Hall. For information: Jan Schultz, 17 Bayview St., Burlington, Vt. 05401.

BOSTON, MA

June 4

Come celebrate the NAM/DSOC merger and the formation of the Democratic Socialists of America/Boston local. Hear DSA chair Michael Harrington, the music of Fred Small, and join others in toasting the DSA. Also, political auction, cash bar, dancing, special guests. Boston College, McElroy Building, second floor, 8 p.m. Tickets \$5. Sponsored by DSOC of B.C.

NEW YORK, NY

June 8

Join Kurt Vonnegut, Michael Harrington, Eileen Egan, James Farmer, Moe Foner, Tom Glazer and Bobbie McGee from 5:30 to 7:30 p.m. at the NYU Loeb Student Center Top-of-the-Park Terrace to mark the 20th Anniversary of the publication of *The Other America*. Sponsored by the Institute for Democratic Socialism. Tickets: \$50 sponsors, \$25 regular, \$20 students and IDS Associates. All contributions are tax deductible. Send to IDS, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, NY, NY 10003, or call (212) 260-3270.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

June 12 & 13

Labor Festival. Concert-comedy-film Saturday night June 12. 7 p.m., Willmar 8; 8 p.m. Solidarity Singers and others, comedienne Carol Roberts; 10 p.m. party. \$1.50 for the evening. Conference Sunday June 13, 1-5 p.m. Building a Labor Culture for the 1980s. Speakers: Stanley Aronowitz, Gwenn Craig, Dave Jenkins, Joan Braconi, Walter Johnson, Maya Luckmann, Denise Gums, Valerie Miner, Herb Mills. Workshops: Writing, photography, history, film, video, education, bringing up children, minority-ethnic, lesbian-gay and feminists. \$2.00 at the SEIU Building, 240 Golden Gate Ave. (Civic Center area). (415) 824-7378.

DURHAM, NC

August 15-22

The War Resisters League, Southeast, will hold an Organizers Training Program. For information and applications, contact WRL/SE, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701, (919) 682-6374.

James

Continued from page 12

spired by Raymond Williams in the past few years would do well to study James' 20-year-old review essay of *Culture and Society* and *The Long Revolution* (reprinted in *Spheres of Existence*, 1980). And partisans of the "labor process" discussion that has flourished since the publication of Harry Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital* should be interested in the "concrete analysis of labor" that James and his comrades elevated to center stage during their break with Trotskyism in the '40s (see, for example, *State Capitalism and World Revolution*, originally published in 1950).

The intellectual also emerges as an effective activist. As one of the founders of the Pan-Africanist movement in the '30s, James collaborated closely with George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta. As a leader of both the British and American Trotskyist movements he held stimulating discussions with Trotsky in 1939 on the relation-

ship between Marxism and black liberation in the U.S. James organized sharecroppers and tenant farmers in Missouri where, notes George Rawick, "he carried with him a copy of Hegel's *Logic*, which he studied on the side of back country dirt roads." Basil Wilson examines James' long involvement in Caribbean, especially Trinidadian, politics.

Worthy of criticism.

But if challenging "the obscurity of James' contributions" is the goal of this anthology, the results are mixed. Editor Buhle correctly points to polemics against long-forgotten antagonists in the unique language of internal factional warfare that makes some of James' pivotal writings lose their appeal. There is also some justification to the point that James has neither created nor hooked-up with an institution (party, union, government) capable of perpetuating his life and work. There never arises even the suggestion that part of the obscurity of the man lies in the obscurity of some of his political views.

Many of the contributors, especially the editor, are convinced that a key to James lies in the "subjectivity" that permeates

his Marxism. Since he is a careful student of character in his literary criticism and fiction, with a strong sense of biography and psychology in his political writings, as well as, by all accounts, an extraordinarily engaging conversationalist, there would seem to be little to argue with here. However, as an exceptionally Hegelianized Marxist, James frequently presents his notion of "the invading socialist society" as the unfolding of predetermined "historical laws" (see especially, *Notes on Dialectics*, 1980—originally published in 1950). For instance several letters to an American comrade in 1963, reprinted here, chastise the Marxists for concerning themselves with "the subjective attitude of white workers and white people to Negroes." Rather, James argues, "the objective situation" will show that white workers "will have to join with the Negroes against the common enemy." And what should be made of Basil Wilson's remark, "It is not surprising that one seldom finds a radical scholar or political activist in the Caribbean who has read C.L.R. James?" I find that assertion very surprising.

Similar questions could be posed regarding James' view of

Russian society as constituting "the final form of capitalism, state capitalism," and his declared Leninism which, with his complete disavowal of any notion of a "vanguard party," assumes an almost spontaneist approach to organization and revolution.

If James is worthy of praise, he is equally worthy of critical

appraisal. Perhaps the recent and forthcoming publications of his work will stimulate scholars and activists to take a closer look at his numerous contributions. To avoid doing so would lend further credence to curt appreciations like those of Genovese.

Jeff Beneke is writing a dissertation on C.L.R. James.

CULTURE SHOCK

CRAFTS

FOR EXPRESSION OF MAN'S INNER NATURE



[SIC]

The official catalog for the New Orleans Jazz Festival included this illustration.

NOW IT'S OFFICIAL

Rolling Stone's new publisher identifies the RS audience as "new establishment," and assures advertisers that the one-time headquarters of gonzo journalism "has a lot in common with the *New York Times*."

Thanks to Rip 'N' Read news service.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

OFF OUR BACKS—Radical Feminist newspaper. National/international news, analysis, reviews, health, prisons; \$8 per year, 11 issues. Free sample copy. Off our backs, Dept. TT, 1841 Columbia Rd., Room 212, Washington, DC 20009.

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR WOMEN—Feminist journalism at its best! National non-profit bimonthly published since 1972. \$10 yr., \$15/2 yrs. Send for free sample. NDFW, 223S Old Hook Road, Westwood, NJ 07675.

HELP WANTED

ORGANIZERS—Educational advocacy group seeks individuals to work with students at university level. Excellent writing and speaking skills; travel 40 hours-plus work-week. Send resume and three references to: Ed Rothstein, SASU, 41 State St., Suite 505, Albany, NY 12207.

FEMINIST PHYSICIAN (ob/gyn or FP) for women's health center. Good working conditions/salary. Reasonable workload in well-woman/problem gyn, birthing, abortion, community education. Special Health Center interests include cervical caps, endomet-

reosis, PMS, feminist psychotherapy, lay healthcare. Excellent city, beautiful state. Contact Fran Kaplan, Director, Bread & Roses Women's Health Center, 238 W. Wisconsin, Milwaukee, WI 53203, (414) 278-0260.

GENERAL MANAGER needed to coordinate operations of progressive research organization. Three years or more experience in democratic management of staff of over 20. \$14,630 annually, plus medical and child benefits. Send resume to Manager Search Committee, Institute for Food and Development Policy, 2588 Mission, S.F. CA 94110.

NEW GRADUATE PROGRAM in Psychology with emphasis on race, class, and sex seeks part-time teachers for the following: 1. History of the Family and Family Therapy; 2. Practicum in Family Therapy Techniques (this teacher must have at least seven years experience as a family therapist). \$2,000 each course. Send resume plus a 3-page statement on your approach, theory of the family, and why you want to help train Public Interest Psychotherapists to: Dr. Michael Lerner, Graduate Dean, 3137 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, CA 94609.

GENERAL MANAGER—WBAI FM, New York. Responsible for all aspects of station operation. Community radio

experience preferred. Must have strong leadership skills, work experience in multi-ethnic urban settings, public speaking, community relations, basic accounting and commitment to Pacifica principles. Resume to: Pacifica Foundation, 5316 Venice Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90010, Attention: WBAI General Manager Search Committee. Deadline June 1, 1982.

OFFICE ADMINISTRATOR sought for progressive legal organization. Salary \$15,000 plus liberal fringe benefits. Send resume and cover letter describing administrative skills and political experience to National Lawyers Guild, 853 Broadway, Rm. 1705, New York, NY 10003 by June 4.

BUTTONS, POSTERS, ETC.

BUTTONS & BUMPERSTICKERS in-stock & custom-printed (union made). Free stock catalogue, wholesale custom printing prices. Don-

Al Staats & Associates

Management & marketing consulting firm serving the public interest community. Specializing in publishing and organization development, direct mail & media outreach. For more information, write ASA, 1740 18th St., NW, Suite 302, Washington, DC 20009; (202) 667-0153.

CONCERT TYPOGRAPHERS

"Virtuoso performance on the Compugraphic"

Concert Typographers, an outgrowth of the production department of In These Times, offers quality typesetting, with a quick turnaround time, at low prices. Whatever your needs are—from business cards to book manuscripts—we'll guarantee our work to your satisfaction. All proceeds will go to the continued growth and development of In These Times.

For estimates, references and scheduling, contact: Bill Rehm or Jim Rinnert, Concert Typographers, 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622. (312) 489-4444.

nelly/Colt, Box 271-IT, New Vernon, NJ 07976, (201) 538-6676.

NEW PEACE POSTCARDS and paraphernalia, lovely original art, religious (nonsectarian) quotes. Help spread the message that the arms race must stop, by god! 20 assorted cards \$3.00; samples free from: Kino Press, P.O. Box 1361, Dept. TT, Falls Church, VA 22041.

"ASNER—AN ACTOR WHO MAKES Sense!", "Solidarity" (Polish or English), "Beware the Actor" (Reagan Graphic), "Freeze Nuclear Weapons", "U.S. Out of El Salvador", "Let Them Eat Jellybeans", "Money for Jobs Not for War", "Politically Correct", "Question Authority", "I'm Pro-Choice and I Vote", "Take the Toys Away from the Boys—Disarm". Buttons: 2/\$1.00; 10/\$4.00; 50/\$15.00; 100/\$25.00. Ellen

Ingber, Box 752-T, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

ATTENTION

MOVING? Let In These Times be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: In These Times, Circulation Dept., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

REAL ESTATE

IF YOU ARE planning to buy or sell real estate in the Ann Arbor area, please contact Rose Hochman, c/o Garnet Johnson Associates, 325 E. Summit, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, (313) 662-3282 or (313) 769-3099.

New Location
GUILD BOOKS
2456 North Lincoln Avenue
Chicago, IL 60614
(312) 525-3667

New store hours: noon-10:30 p.m., seven days a week

Literature • History • Politics
Art • Women & Minority Studies
Wide Selection—Periodicals & Records • Books in Spanish
Come in and browse.

WILL WE STOP THEM IN TIME?

Black on white, gray or lt. blue Tees, with handpainted fireball. S-M-L-XL; \$7 each.

UNITYGRAPHICS
P.O. Box 163, Hammond, IN 46325

SOME, IN A MURDER!

I CAN'T DANCE

REAGAN HOOD

Cost: \$6.25 each
Sizes: S-M-L-XL
Colors: tan, lt. blue, yellow, red (no red for Reagan Hood)

Also: Eat the Rich (red) Question Authority (red, black, blue)

Northern Sun Merchandising, Box ITT
1519 E. Franklin, Mpls. MN 55404

lots of buttons too; send 25¢ for catalog



In These Times Classified Ads Grab Attention

...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 67,000 responsive readers each week. (72% made a mail order purchase last year.) ITT classies deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:

60¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
55¢ per word / 3-5 issues
50¢ per word / 6-9 issues
45¢ per word / 10-19 issues
40¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$16 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$15 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$14 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$12 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$10 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Telephone and POB numbers count as two words; abbreviations and zip codes as one. Advertising deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues are dated on Wednesday.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Advertising, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. (312) 489-4444

By Anthony Schmitz

THE WAY JOHN BONDURANT saw it, lawyering had better be left to lawyers. Dressed in a bright red sweater, a gray vest and matching suit pants, the Athens Lumber Company president sat in his pine-paneled, cluttered office and talked about everything but his court case. The lawsuit brought by the corporation's board, whose six members included Bondurant and his immediate family, had lawyers all over the country jumping. The Federal Election Commission (FEC), Common Cause, the International Association of Machinists each had attorneys searching for a way to stop Athens Lumber.

It started last July 23 when five members of the company's board—John and Mary Bondurant and three of their children, J.P., Birdie and Emmett—passed a resolution: Whereas the company is subject to laws passed by Congress, and whereas Congress is wrecking the economy, burdening business with regulation and in general killing the lumber trade, John, Mary, J.P., Birdie and Emmett said the corporation ought to contribute money to political candidates who act in its interests. They resolved to donate not more than \$10,000 to sympathetic federal office seekers before December 31, 1984.

The problem was that direct corporate campaign contributions are illegal. Therefore, the board authorized John to hire Emmett, an Atlanta attorney, to fight the FEC in the courts.

The whole affair sounded quixotic. Athens Lumber Company is a struggling concern on top of a small hill in Athens. The company's business is a little of this and a little of that—its 30 employees sell art supplies, restore paintings and custom-build windows, doors and other architectural millwork. Lately, as the interest rates have soared and new construction has become mostly a memory, business has been slow. John was still recovering from a heart attack, and he claimed to be short of energy with which to pursue new clients for the business that his grandfather had given to his uncle. From this rickety platform, John, Mary, J.P., Birdie and Emmett were challenging a vital section of the federal election law, and it was a challenge that would almost certainly end up before the U.S. Supreme Court. If successful, the decision would vastly increase the political power of corporations—not just Athens Lumber Company, but GM and AT&T, and the big national banks and unions.

By July 27, Emmett Bondurant had filed a complaint in U.S. District Court in Athens. Bondurant was not the unknown son of a small lumberman. He was instrumental in the 1974 rewriting of the Atlanta City Charter, and served as president of Good Government Atlanta. He is also Bert Lance's attorney in a continuing FEC investigation, in which the FEC alleges that bank loans Lance received during his 1974 governor's race were, in fact, illegal campaign contributions. Since the early '60s, when he represented the Georgia Conference of the American Association of University Professors in a case challenging the constitutionality of a loyalty oath professors were forced to sign, he has also had a special interest in First Amendment cases.

Emmet Bondurant's current complaint claimed that corporations' rights to free speech are unfairly restrained by the 1907 Corrupt Practices Act, which for the past 75 years has made it illegal for corporations to make direct contributions to can-



A struggling, little company in Georgia is standing up for direct corporate campaign contributions.

didates for federal office. Bondurant wrote that the act suppressed the ability of corporations, banks and unions to influence political races. The effect, he said, is to magnify the power of "natural persons" who often support policies that are opposed to corporate interests. As a result, citizens "are more likely to succeed in electing candidates to federal office who are responsive to their wishes, and less responsive to corporate business interests," Bondurant wrote.

Recent Supreme Court cases gave Bondurant cause to believe that this was a line of reasoning the court would accept. In 1978 the justices had heard a case in which the First National Bank of Boston, the Gillette Company and a handful of other corporations fought a referendum to allow a graduated individual income tax in Massachusetts. The question raised was whether corporations could intrude in a public debate that was irrelevant to their business concerns. A lower court decided that since the corporation is a creation of the state, the state can determine the extent to which corporations have First Amendment rights. It was an argument the Supreme Court didn't buy. In a 5-4 decision, the court ruled that corporations have the same free-speech rights as individuals.



Justice Byron R. White, in a dissenting opinion, fretted that if corporations had the same First Amendment rights as individuals, then they also had the same right to contribute to political campaigns. "The special status of corporations," White wrote, "has placed them in a position to control vast amounts of economic power which may, if not regulated, dominate not only the economy but also the very heart of our democracy, the electoral process....The state need not permit its own creation to consume it."

Under the current law, corporations, national banks and unions can make political contributions through political action committees, to which union members or executives may make private contributions. A committee can contribute up to \$5,000 to a candidate. Though a banker, union official or corporation director might consider the law restrictive, it still allows industry and labor to pump large sums into campaigns. For example, there is the case of Herman Talmadge, then chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry. During an eight-week period of the 1980 Senate race, Talmadge pulled in \$10,000 from big oil and \$50,000 from political action committees representing food, farm and wood products industries. Between August 7 and September 30, 1980, the former senator received a total of \$175,000 from political action committees.

But from a corporation director's point of view, filtering money through shareholders and then on to a political action committee is like carrying water in a sieve. If he takes a dollar with the intention of giving it to a shareholder who will in turn donate it to a political action com-

mittee, the dollar will become something closer to 35 cents after corporate income tax and the shareholder's unearned income tax are paid.

In Washington recently, a FEC official named Fred Eiland worried about all the money in corporate treasuries. "Tens of millions might be available for political donations," he said. Who could tell what kind of Congress that money might buy? Elsewhere in the capital, Don Simon, a Common Cause lawyer, said that if the Athens Lumber Company suit were successful, corporate money could flood campaign coffers and upset the balance of power between people and corporations. "It could make legislators more accountable to money and corporate interests than to the people," he said.

Back in Athens, the fragile balance of political power concerned John Bondurant, too. He walked through a quiet studio where a few battered paintings waited to be restored, then he ambled into the sawdust-covered woodshop, where a lone workman bent over a banister that was nearly ready to ship.

In his office, he talked about the Athens political scene. Some people in town wanted to elect school board members instead of appointing them. Bondurant had been partially responsible for creating the appointment system back in the '50s when he served on the City Council. He was proud of that piece of work and didn't want to see it changed. The reason, he said, was that it would be hard to get good people to put up with the frustration of a race.

With campaigns come all the problems that money buys. "People," he said, "are far more likely to be beholden to the person who helped finance their campaign."

Anthony Schmitz is a writer for Atlantic Weekly, where this article first appeared.